THE

PREFACE.

THERE is no Way of writing ſo proper, for the refining and poliſhing a Language, as the tranſlating of Books into it, if he that undertakes it has a competent Skill of the one Tongue, and is a Maſter of the other. When a Man writes his own Thoughts, the Heat of his Fan-

have undergone, our Language has, like a rich Wine, wrought out its Tartar, and is inſenſibly brought to a Purity that could not have been compaſſed without much Labour, had it not been for the great Advantage that we have of a *Prince*, who is ſo great a Judge, that his ſingle Approbation or Diſlike has almoſt as great an Authority over our Language, as his Prerogative gives him over our Coin. We are now ſo much refined, that how defective ſoever our Imaginations or Reaſonings may be, yet our Language has fewer Faults, and is more natural and proper, than it was ever at any Time before. When one compares the beſt Writers of the laſt Age, with thoſe that excel in this, the Difference is very diſcernable: Even the great Sir *Francis Bacon*, that was the firſt that writ our Language correctly; as he is ſtill our beſt Author, yet in ſome Places

Places has Figures ſo ſtrong, that they could not paſs now before a ſevere Judge. I will not provoke the preſent Maſters of the Stage, by preferring the Authors of the laſt Age to them: For though they all acknowledge that they come far ſhort of *Ben Johnſon*, *Beaumont* and *Fletcher*, yet I believe they are better pleaſed to ſay this themſelves, than to have it obſerved by others. Their Language is now certainly more proper, and more natural than it was formerly, chiefly ſince the Correction that was given it by the *Rehearſal*; and it is to be hoped, that the *Eſſay on Poetry*, which may be well matched with the beſt Pieces of its Kind that even *Auguſtus*'s Age produced, will have a more powerful Operation, if clear Senſe, joined with home but gentle Reproofs, can work more on our Writers, than that unmerciful expoſing of them has done.

UTOPIA:

Containing an

IMPARTIAL HISTORY

OF THE

MANNERS, CUSTOMS, POLITY, GOVERNMENT, *&c.* of that Iſland.

Written in *Latin* by Sir THOMAS MORE, Chancellor of *England*. And interſperſed with many important Articles of SECRET HISTORY, relating to the State of the *Britiſh* Nation.

Tranſlated into ENGLISH

By GILBERT BURNET, late Biſhop of *Sarum*.

To this EDITION is added,

A ſhort Account of Sir THOMAS MORE'S LIFE and TRIAL: and a PRAYER made by him while he was a Priſoner in the *Tower*.

The whole revis'd, corrected and greatly improv'd, by THOMAS WILLIAMSON, Eſq;

OXFORD,

Printed for J. NEWBERY at the *Bible* and *Sun* in St. *Paul*'s Church Yard, *London*. MDCCLI.

cy, and the Quickneſs of his Mind, carry him ſo much after the Notions themſelves, that for the moſt Part he is too warm to judge of the Aptneſs of Words, and the Juſtneſs of Figures; ſo that he either neglects theſe too much, or over-does them: But when a Man tranſlates, he has none of theſe Heats about him: And therefore the *French* took no ill Method, when they intended to reform and beautify their Language, in ſetting their beſt Writers on Work to tranſlate the *Greek* and *Latin* Authors into it. There is ſo little Praiſe got by a Tranſlation, that a Man cannot be engaged in it out of Vanity, for it has paſs'd for a Sign of a ſlow Mind, that can amuſe it ſelf with ſo mean an Entertainment; but we begin to grow wiſer, and though ordinary Tranſlators muſt ſucceed ill in the Eſteem of the World, yet ſome have appeared of late that will, I hope,

bring

bring that Way of Writing in Credit. The *Engliſh* Language has wrought it ſelf out, both of the fulſome Pedantry under which it laboured long ago, and the trifling Way of dark and unintelligible Wit that came after that, and out of the coarſe Extravagance of Canting that ſucceeded this: But as one Extream commonly produces another, ſo we were beginning to fly into a ſublime Pitch of a ſtrong but falſe Rhetorick, which had much corrupted, not only the Stage, but even the Pulpit; two Places, that though they ought not to be named together, much leſs to reſemble one another; yet it cannot be denied, but the Rule and Meaſure of Speech is generally taken from them: But that florid Strain is almoſt quite worn out, and is become now as ridiculous as it was once admired. So that without either the Expence or Labour that the *French*

I have now much Leiſure, and want Diverſion, ſo I have beſtowed ſome of my Hours upon Tranſlations, in which I have propoſed no ill Patterns to my ſelf: But the Reader will be beſt able to judge whether I have copied ſkilfully after ſuch Originals. This ſmall Volume which I now publiſh, being writ by one of the greateſt Men that this Iſland has produced, ſeemed to me to contain ſo many fine and well digeſted Notions, that I thought it might be no unkind nor ill Entertainment to the Nation, to put a Book in their Hands, to which they have ſo good a Title, and which has a very common Fate upon it, to be more known and admired all the World over, than here at Home. It was once tranſlated into *Engliſh* not long after it was written; and I was once apt to think it might have been done by Sir *Thomas More* him-

himſelf: For as it is in the *Engliſh* of his Age, and not unlike his Style; ſo the Tranſlator has taken a Liberty that ſeems too great for any but the Author himſelf, who is Maſter of his own Book, and ſo may leave out or alter his Original as he pleaſes: Which is more than a Tranſlator ought to do, I am ſure it is more than I have preſumed to do.

It was writ in the Year 1516, as appears by the Date of the Letter of *Peter Giles*, in which he ſays, That it was ſent him but a few Days before from the Author, and that bears Date the firſt of *November* that Year; but I cannot imagine how he comes to be called Sheriff of *London* in the Title of the Book, for in all our printed Catalogues of Sheriffs, his Name is not to be found. I do not think my ſelf concerned in the matter of his Book,

no more than any other Tranſlator is in his Author: Nor do I think *More* himſelf went in heartily to that which is the chief Baſis of his *Utopia*, the taking away of all *Property*, and the levelling the World; but that he only intended to ſet many Notions in his Reader's Way; and that he might not ſeem too much in earneſt, he went ſo far out of all Roads to do it the leſs ſuſpected: The Earneſtneſs with which he recommends the Precaution uſed in Marriages among the *Utopians*, makes one think that he had a Misfortune in his own Choice, and that therefore he was ſo cautious on that Head; for the ſtrictneſs of his own Life covers him from ſevere Cenſures: His ſetting out ſo barbarous a Practice, as the hiring of Aſſaſſinates to take off Enemies, is ſo wild and ſo immoral both, that it does not admit of any thing to ſoften or excuſe it, much

leſs

lèſs to juſtify it; and the adviſing Men in ſome Caſes to put an end to their Lives, notwithſtanding all the Caution with which he guards it, is a Piece of rough and fierce Philoſophy. The tendereſt Part of the whole Work, was the Repreſentation he gives of *Henry* the ſeventh's Court, and his Diſcourſes upon it, towards the End of the firſt Book; in which his Diſguiſe is ſo thin, that the Matter would not have been much plainer if he had named him: But when he ventured to write ſo freely of the Father in the Son's Reign, and to give ſuch an *Idea* of Government under the haughtieſt Prince, and the moſt impatient of uneaſy Reſtraints that ever reigned in *England*, who yet was ſo far from being diſpleaſed with him for it, that as he made him long his particular Friend, ſo he employed him in all his Affairs afterwards, and raiſed

him to be Lord Chancellor, I thought I might venture to put it in more modern *Engliſh:* For as the Tranſlators of *Plutarch*'s *Heroes,* or of *Tully*'s *Offices,* are not concerned, either in the Maxims, or in the Actions that they relate; ſo I, who only tell, in the beſt *Engliſh* I can, what Sir *Thomas More* writ in very elegant *Latin,* muſt leave his Thoughts and Notions to the Reader's Cenſure, and do think my ſelf liable for nothing but the Fidelity of the Tranſlation, and the Correctneſs of the *Engliſh*; and for that I can only ſay, that I have writ as carefully, and as well as I can.

G. BURNET.

THE

A SHORT

ACCOUNT

OF

Sir THOMAS MORE's

LIFE.

THOMAS MORE, Son of Sir *Jo. More*, Knight, one of the Juſtices of the *King's-Bench*, was born in *Milk-ſtreet* in the City of *London*, in the Year of our Lord 1480, where he

he was taught Grammar Learning in St. *Anthony*'s School, and was afterwards received into the Family of Cardinal *John Moreton* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, merely from the great Hopes that were conceived of him, from the Pregnancy of his Parts. About the Year 1497. that worthy Cardinal ſent him to *Canterbury-College* (now taken into *Chriſt-Church*) *Oxford*, where, by the Aſſiſtance of *Lynacre*, his Tutor, he became a great Proficient in all Sorts of Learning, eſpecially in the *Greek* Language, for he was a conſtant Hearer of *Grocynus*, who at that Time was public Lecturer of the *Greek* Tongue. From *Oxford* he removed to *New-Inn* in *London*, where continuing for a Time, according to the Manner of thoſe that intended to make a Proficiency in the Knowledge of the Municipal Laws, he removed thence to *Lincoln's-Inn*, where he compleated his

his Studies, and was at length called to the Bar.

He was ſoon advanced to the Place of Judge in the Sheriff's Court, *London*, continuing his Practice at the ſame Time in the others. And tho' he only choſe ſuch Cauſes as appeared juſt to his Conſcience, and never took Fees of Widow, Orphan, or poor Perſon, he gained an Eſtate of 400 *l. per Annum*; an Eſtate, which at that time was very conſiderable.

Being made a Member of the Houſe of Commons, he oppoſed King *Henry* the Seventh's Propoſal for the Marriage Portion of his Daughter *Margaret*; which the King reſented ſo highly, that Sir *Thomas More* was reſolved to go abroad, had not the Death of the King prevented it.

King *Henry* the Eight coming to the Crown, ſoon took Notice of him for his extraordinary Gifts of Nature, his Learn-

Learning, Wiſdom and Experience: And as a Mark of the Eſteem he had for him, he ſucceſſively conferred on him theſe Honours and Employments, *viz.* the Maſterſhip of the *Requeſts*, the intruſting him in ſeveral *Embaſſies*, the Honour of *Knighthood*, the Treaſurerſhip of the *Exchequer*, the Chancellorſhip of the Duchy of *Lancaſter*, which was the King's perſonal Patrimony, the Embaſſage to the Emperor, and *French* King: And afterwards upon the Removal of Cardinal *Woolſey*, the Great Seal was delivered to Sir *Thomas*, on the 25th of *October*, 1530, and he was then declared Lord High-Chancellor of *England*; in which laſt Office, no Perſon ever before him behaved more uprightly, or more to the Satisfaction of the People. His Expedition in determining Cauſes was no leſs remarkable than his Integrity: For one Day when he called for the next Cauſe,

Cauſe, it was anſwered, there are no more to be heard; all Suits in that Court depending and ready for hearing being finally determined.

On which Occaſion ſome Perſon at that Time made theſe Verſes.

When More *ſome Years had* Chancellor
No more *Suits did remain*; [*been*
The ſame ſhall never more *be ſeen*,
Till More *be there again*.

The firſt Time that this great Man began to loſe the Favour of the Court, was for not complying with the King in the Divorce of Queen *Catherine*, and therefore he reſign'd his Chancellorſhip in time; for on the 16th of *May*, 24 *Henry* VIII, he delivered up the Great Seal to the King, at his Manor Houſe called *York-Place* near *Weſtminſter*, in the Preſence of *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk*, which Seal, on the twentieth

twentieth Day following, was delivered by the King to Sir *Thomas Audley*, Knight.

After this Sir *Thomas* retired to his Houſe at *Chelſea* near *London*, where continuing for ſome Time at his Studies, not without the moſt exact Devotion, he was at length committed Priſoner to the Tower of *London*, for not acknowledging the King's Supremacy over the Church of *England:* And after he had remained ſeveral Months cloſe confined, was brought to his Trial at *Weſtminſter-Hall*, where he was condemned to be hang'd, drawn and quarter'd. But that Sentence being mitigated by the King, he loſt his Head on *Tower-hill*, *July* the 6th, 1535. See the Trial.

He was eſteemed one of the greateſt Prodigies of Wit and Learning, that *England* ever produced before his Time. He was alſo very meek, humble, chari-

charitable, and a Deſpiſer of the Things of this World; and nothing ſeemed to be wanting in him to make him a compleat Chriſtian. His Parts were great and profound; he had not his Equal in the Knowledge of Divinity, the Laws of his Country, the *Latin* and *Greek* Languages, Poetry and Mathematics. All which Endowments made him not only beloved of Kings and Nobles, but of all thoſe who in his Time were the Lights of Learning, as *Eraſmus*, *Colet*, *Tonſtal* Biſhop of *Durham*, *Fiſher* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, *Grocyn*, *Lynacre*, *Lilye*, *Paice*, *Elyot*, *Lupſet*, *Leland*, &c. moſt of which, eſpecially foreign Writers, have celebrated his Memory in their reſpective Works, and all Men of Genius in his Time have a great Reſpect to his Name and Writings. He wrote a great many Things, a Catalogue of which may be ſeen in *Athenæ Oxonienſes*, VOL. I. and

and among the Reſt his *Latin* Book, intituled, *De Optimo Reipublicæ Statu, deque nova Inſula* Utopia, &c. has been much admired. It contains the Idea of a compleat Common-wealth in an imaginary Iſland, pretended to be lately diſcovered in *America*, but ſo lively deſcribed, that many at Reading it, miſtook it for a real Truth: Inſomuch that ſeveral learned Men, as *Budæus*, and *Johannes Paludanus*, through a fervent Zeal for the Propagation of Chriſtianity wiſhed, that ſome excellent Divines might be ſent there to preach the Goſpel.

THE

THE

AUTHOR'S EPISTLE

TO

PETER GILES.

I Am almoſt aſhamed, my deareſt *Peter Giles*, to ſend you this Book of the *Utopian Common-Wealth*, after almoſt a Year's Delay; when you no doubt look'd for it in ſix Weeks: For as you are ſenſible that I had no Occaſion to make uſe of my Inven-

tion,

tion, or to take Pains to put Things into a Method, becauſe I had nothing to do, but to repeat exactly what I heard *Raphael* relate in your Preſence; ſo a ſtudied Elegance of Expreſſion would have been here unneceſſary. Since as he delivered Things to us of the ſudden, and in a careleſs Style; he being, you know, a greater Maſter of the *Greek*, than of the *Latin*; the plainer my Words are, they will the better reſemble his Simplicity, and will conſequently be nearer to the Truth. This is all that I think lies on me, and the only Thing in which I thought myſelf concerned: I confeſs that I had here very little left for me to do; for the Invention and Ordering of ſuch a Scheme would have coſt a Man, whoſe Capacity and Learning was of the ordinary Standard, ſome Pains and Time. But if it had been neceſſary, that this Relation ſhould have been not only con-

conſiſtent with Truth, but expreſſed with Elegance, it could never have been performed by me, even after all the Pains and Time that I could have beſtowed upon it. My Part in it was ſo very ſmall, that it could not give me much Trouble, all that belonged to me being only to give a true and full Account of the Things that I had heard: But though this required ſo very little of my Time, yet even that little was long denied me by my other Affairs, which preſs much upon me: For while in pleading, and hearing, in judging or compoſing of Cauſes, in waiting on ſome Men upon Buſineſs, and on others out of Reſpect, the greateſt Part of the Day is ſpent on other Men's Affairs, the Remainder of it muſt be given to my Family at Home: So that I can reſerve no Part of it to myſelf, that is, to my Study: I muſt talk with my Wife, and chat with my

my Children, and I have ſomewhat to ſay to my Servants: All theſe Things I reckon as a Part of Buſineſs, except a Man will reſolve to be a Stranger at Home; for with whomſoever either Nature, Chance, or Choice has engaged a Man, in any Commerce, he muſt endeavour to make himſelf as acceptable to thoſe about him, as he poſſibly can; uſing ſtill ſuch a Temper, that he may not ſpoil them by an exceſſive Gentleneſs, ſo that his Servants may not become his Maſters. In ſuch Things as theſe, Days, Months, and Years ſlip away; what is then left for Writing? And yet I have ſaid nothing of that Time that muſt go for Sleep, or for Meat: In which many waſte almoſt as much of their Time, as in Sleep, which conſumes very near the Half of our Life; and indeed all the Time which I can gain to myſelf, is that which I ſteal from my Sleep and

my

my Meals; and becauſe that is not much, I have made but a ſlow Progreſs; yet as it is ſomewhat, I have at laſt got to an End of my *Utopia*, which I now ſend to you, and expect that after you have read it, you will let me know if you can put me in mind of any Thing that has eſcaped me; for tho' I would think myſelf very happy, if I had but as much Invention and Learning as I know I have Memory, which makes me generally depend much upon it, yet I do not rely ſo entirely on it, as to think I can forget nothing.

My Servant, *John Clement*, has ſtarted ſome Things that ſhake me: You know he was preſent with us, as I think he ought to be, at every Converſation that may be of uſe to him; for I promiſe myſelf great Matters from the Progreſs he has ſo early made in

the *Greek* and *Roman* Learning. As far as my Memory ſerves me, the Bridge over *Anider* at *Amaurot*, was, according to *Raphael*'s Account, 500 Paces broad; but *John* aſſures me, he ſpoke only of 300 Paces; therefore, pray recollect what you can remember of this, for if you agree with him, I will believe that I have been miſtaken; but if you remember nothing of it, I will not alter what I have written, becauſe it is according to the beſt of my Remembrance: For as I will take care that there may be nothing falſly ſet down; ſo if there is any Thing doubtful, tho' I may perhaps tell a Lie, yet I am ſure I will not make one; for I would rather paſs for a good Man than for a wiſe one: But it will be eaſy to correct this Miſtake, if you can either meet with *Raphael* himſelf, or know how to write to him.

I

I have another Difficulty that preſſes me more, and makes your writing to him the more neceſſary: I know not whom I ought to blame for it, whether *Raphael*, you, or myſelf; for as we did not think of aſking it, ſo neither did he of telling us, in what Part of the New World *Utopia* is ſituated; this was ſuch an Omiſſion that I would gladly redeem it at any Rate: I am aſhamed, that after I have told ſo many Things concerning this Iſland, I cannot let my Readers know in what Sea it lies. There are ſome among us that have a mighty Deſire to go thither, and in particular, one pious Divine is very earneſt upon it, not ſo much out of a vain Curioſity of ſeeing unknown Countries, as that he may advance our Religion, which is ſo happily begun to be planted there; and that he may do this regularly, he intends to procure a Miſſion from the

Pope, and to be ſent thither as their Biſhop. In ſuch a Caſe as this, he makes no Scruple of aſpiring to that Character, but thinks ſuch Ambition meritorious, while actuated ſolely by a pious Zeal; he deſires it only as the Means of advancing the Chriſtian Religion, and not for any Honour or Advantage that may accrue to himſelf. Therefore I earneſtly beg, that if you can poſſibly meet with *Raphael*, or if you know how to write to him, you will be pleaſed to inform yourſelf of theſe Things, that there may be no Falſhood left in my Book, nor any important Truth wanting. And perhaps it will not be unfit to let him ſee the Book itſelf: For as no Man can correct any Errors that may be in it, ſo well as he; ſo by reading it, he will be able to give a more perfect Judgment of it, than he can do upon any Diſcourſe concerning it: And you will

will be likewiſe able to diſcover whether this Undertaking of mine is acceptable to him or not; for if he intends to write a Relation of his Travels, perhaps he will not be pleaſed that I ſhould prevent him, in that Part that belongs to the *Utopian* Commonwealth; ſince if I ſhould do ſo, his Book will not ſurprize the World with the Pleaſure which this new Diſcovery will give the Age. And I am ſo little fond of appearing in print upon this Occaſion, that if he diſlikes it, I will lay it aſide; and even though he ſhould approve of it, I am not poſitively determined as to the publiſhing it. Men's Taſtes differ much; ſome are of ſo moroſe a Temper, ſo ſour a Diſpoſition, and make ſuch abſurd Judgments of Things, that Men of chearful and lively Tempers, who indulge their *Genius*, ſeem much more happy, than thoſe who waſte their Time and

Strength in order to publiſhing a Book, which tho' of itſelf it might be uſeful or pleaſant, yet inſtead of being well received, will be ſure to be either laughed at, or cenſured. Many know nothing of Learning, and others deſpiſe it: A Man that is accuſtomed to a coarſe and harſh Style, thinks every thing is rough that is not barbarous. Our trifling Pretenders to Learning, think all is ſlight that is not dreſs'd up in Words that are worn out of uſe; ſome love only old Things, and many like nothing but what is their own. Some are ſo ſour that they can allow no Jeſts, and others ſo dull that they can endure nothing that is ſharp; while others are as much afraid of any thing gay and lively, as a Man bit with a mad Dog is of Water; others are ſo light and unſettled, that their Thoughts change as quick as they do their Poſtures: Some again, when they meet

in

in Taverns, take upon them among their Cups to paſs Cenſures very freely on all Writers; and, with a ſupercilious Liberty, to condemn every thing they do not like: In which they have an Advantage, like that of a bald Man, who can catch hold of another by the Hair, while the other cannot return the like upon him. They are ſafe as it were from Gun-ſhot, ſince there is nothing in them ſolid enough to be taken hold of. Others are ſo unthankful, that even when they are well pleaſed with a Book, yet they think they owe nothing to the Author; and are like thoſe rude Gueſts, who after they have been well entertained at a good Dinner, when they have glutted their Appetites, go away without ſo much as thanking him that treated them. But who would put himſelf to the Charge of making a Feaſt for Men of ſuch nice Palates,

and ſo different Taſtes; who are ſo forgetful of the Civilities that are paid them? But do you once clear thoſe Points with *Raphael*, and then it will be time enough to conſider whether it be fit to publiſh it or not; for ſince I have been at the Pains to write it, if he conſents to it's being publiſhed I will follow my Friend's Advice, and chiefly yours. Farewell my dear *Peter*, commend me kindly to your good Wife, and love me ſtill as you uſe to do, for I aſſure you I love you daily more and more.

PAGINATION INCORRECT

THE TRIAL OF Sir THOMAS MORE, For HIGH TREASON.

BEFORE,

The Duke of NORFOLK and other Commiſſioners of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, the 7th of *May*, 1535, and in the 26th of HENRY VIII. Taken from SALMON's Critical Review of the STATE-TRIALS.

THE Charge contained in the Indictment was, 1. That the Priſoner had ſtubbornly oppoſed the King's ſecond Marriage: 2. That he maliciouſly refuſed to declare his Opinion of the Act of Supremacy: 3. That he endeavoured to evade the Force of that Statute, and adviſed Biſhop *Fiſher* by his Letters, not to

ſubmit to it; and, 4. That upon his examination in the *Tower*, it being demanded, if he approved the Act of Supremacy, he anſwered, *That the Queſtion was like a two-edged Sword; if he anſwered one Way, it would deſtroy his Body; and if the other Way, his Soul*; and theſe were laid to be Open or Overt-Acts of the Treaſon of his Heart.

As to the two firſt Articles he did not deny, that he adviſed the King againſt his ſecond Marriage, or, that he declined giving his Opinion concerning the Act of Supremacy; and his Letters to *Fiſher* were ſaid to prove the Third, but they were not produced: *Rich*, the King's Sollicitor, gave Evidence of the Fourth, concerning his Anſwer on his Examination in the *Tower*.

Sir *Thomas* ſaid in his Defence, That he had no Malice or Treaſon in his Heart, when he adviſed the King againſt his ſecond Marriage, but gave his Opinion according to his Conſcience and his Duty, when his Majeſty required it; and that, if he had refuſed to deliver his Opinion, his Majeſty might juſtly have reſented it: 2. As to the ſecond Charge, he thought Silence was no Sign of the Malice of his Heart; for, according to the Civilians, he who held his Peace ſeemed to conſent, declaring, he had never caſt any reflection on the Act before any Man: 3.

As

As to the Third, which charges him with maliciouſly adviſing *Fiſher* not to comply with the Act, he deſired his Letters, that were ſaid to prove it, might be produced, and he was confident they would acquit him of ever giving ſuch Advice: 4. And as to the fourth Article, the Words were no Reflection on the Act if he had ſpoken them; but he had never ſaid any thing like them, excepting at the ſame time to the Evidence of *Rich* the Sollicitor, on whoſe Teſtimony he was charged with them; and appealing to the Memory of the Lords who were preſent at that Examination, they all declared, *They heard no ſuch Words.*

The Jury, however, was ſo managed, that within a Quarter of an Hour after they were gone out, they returned with their Verdict, *That the Priſoner was* GUILTY *of High Treaſon.*

The Court demanding of Sir *Thomas*, What he had to ſay, why Judgment ſhould not be pronounced againſt him, he only obſerved, That an Act of Parliament could not give the King the Supremacy of the Church, of which *England* was but a Part; and further, that none but Heaven could confer that Supremacy on any Perſon: After which Sentence was pronounced on him as a Traitor; tho' all except the beheading, was pardoned, on Account of the Priſoner's having born the Office of Lord Chancellor.

He was ordered to be executed on the fixth of *July*, about a Month after his Trial. He preſerved his uſual facetious Temper to the laſt; for obſerving the Stairs of the Scaffold very weak, *he deſired a Friend to lend him a Hand to get up; but when I come down* (ſays he) *let me ſhift for my ſelf.* And when the Executioner, as uſual, aſked him forgiveneſs, *Friend* (ſays Sir *Thomas*) *you will get but little Credit in cutting off my Head, my Neck is ſo ſhort.* Then *he deſired the Executioner's Leave to lay his Beard aſide, for* that *had committed no Treaſon.*

SALMON's *Remarks on the* TRIALS.

It is not eaſy to conceive what there was in this Charge, if it had been all proved, that could amount to High Treaſon, or even a Miſdemeanor; unleſs it be criminal not to think alway as the King thinks. Very precarious was the Life of a Subject in this Reign. Whatever the Court were pleaſed to denominate Treaſon, was adjudged Treaſon; and whoever the Miniſtry thought fit to accuſe, were found guilty. No Jury, or Court of Juſtice, durſt refuſe to convict any Man the King intimated he would have condemned to Death: And Parliaments met only to execute the King's Decrees. We may therefore look upon this Reign

of

of *Henry* the VIII. to be the moſt tyrannical, arbitrary, and cruel, that is to be met with in our Annals. From this Proſecution of Sir *Thomas More*, it appears that neither Virtue, Parts, Learning, or even Innocence, and the moſt inoffenſive Behaviour, were any Protection. This great Man, who had arrived to a good old Age, was not ſuffered to go to the Grave in the natural and ordinary way. His ſteady and perſevering Virtue was a Reproach to the Tyrant, who ſeemed determined to ſuffer no Man to live that would not fall down and worſhip him, and change his Creed as often as he changed his Mind.

Sir *Thomas* is ſometimes cenſured for the lightneſs of his Expreſſions at the Hour of Death; but to me it only ſhews his Innocence, and that he conſidered this but as the Paſſage to a better State, which made him more than uſually gay, at the Approach of his Execution; and as to his ſaying *His Beard had committed no Treaſon*, he certainly intended to intimate thereby, that his whole Perſon was equally innocent, and that nothing, how inoffenſive ſoever, could eſcape the Rage and Fury of that Adminiſtration.

While he was a Priſoner in the Tower, and ſome Days before his Death, he compoſed the following Prayer; which we find inſerted in moſt of the Catholick Manuals.

A Prayer

A Prayer made by Sir THOMAS MORE, *whilſt he was a Priſoner in the* Tower.

GIVE me O Lord, thy Grace, in all my Fear and Agony, to have recourſe to that great Fear, and wonderful Agony, which thou, my ſweet Saviour, ſufferedſt on Mount *Olivet*, before thy moſt bitter Paſſion; and in the Meditation thereof, to conceive ſuch Spiritual Comfort as ſhall be profitable to my Soul.

Take from me, O my God, all vain-glorious Thoughts, all Appetite of my own Praiſe, all Envy, Covetouſneſs, Gluttony, Sloth, and Luxury; all froward Affections, all Appetite of Revenge, all Deſire of others Harm, all Pleaſure in provoking any Perſon to Anger, all Delight of Exprobration and Inſultation againſt any in their Affliction or Calamity. Give me, O Lord, an humble, quiet, peaceable, patient, tender and charitable Mind; and in all my Thoughts, Words and Deeds, to have a Taſte of thy Holy Spirit.

Give me, O Lord, a lively Faith, a firm Hope, and a fervent Charity, a love of thee incomparably above the Love of my ſelf; that I may love nothing to thy Diſpleaſure, but every thing in order to thy Satisfaction.

Give me, O Lord, a longing to be with thee

thee, not for avoiding the Calamities of this wretched World, nor ſo much for eſcaping the Pains of Purgatory, or thoſe of Hell, nor for the attaining the Joys of Heaven, with reſpect to my own Advantage, as purely for the Love of thee.

Retain for me, O Lord, thy Love and Favour, which my Love to thee, were it ever ſo great, could not (without thy infinite Goodneſs) deſerve.

Pardon, O Lord, my Boldneſs, in making ſuch high Petitions, being ſo vile and ſinful a Wretch, and ſo unworthy to obtain the loweſt: Yet, O Lord, they are ſuch Things as I am bound to wiſh for, and ſhould be near the effectual Deſire of them; if my manifold Sins were not the Impediment: From which, O ſweet Saviour Chriſt, vouchſafe of thy Goodneſs, to waſh me with that bleſſed Blood that iſſued out of thy tender Body, in the divers Torments of thy moſt bitter Paſſion.

Take from me, O Lord, this lukewarm, or rather ſtark cold Manner of Meditation, and this Dulneſs in Prayer: Give me Fervour and Delight in thinking of Thee, and thy Grace earneſtly to deſire thy Holy Sacraments, and eſpecially to rejoice in the Preſence of thy bleſſed Body (ſweet Saviour Chriſt) in the Holy Sacrament of the Altar: And duly to thank thee for thy gracious Viſitation therein, and at that

that high Memorial, with tender Compaſſion, to remember and conſider thy moſt bitter Death upon the Croſs.

Make us all, O Lord, every Day virtually Participants of that Holy Sacrament: Make us all lively Members, ſweet Saviour Chriſt, of thy Holy Myſtical Body, the Catholick Church. *Amen.*

LORD, give me Patience in Tribulation, and Grace in every Thing, to conform my Will to thine; that I may truly ſay, Thy Will be done on Earth, as it is in Heaven.

The Things, good Lord, that I pray for, give me thy Grace to labour for. *Amen.*

The DISCOURSES of

RAPHAEL HYTHLODAY,

Of the beſt State of a

Common-Wealth.

WRITTEN BY

Sir THOMAS MORE, Citizen and Sheriff of LONDON.

HENRY the Eighth, the unconquer'd King of *England*, a Prince adorned with all the Virtues that become a great Monarch; having ſome Differences of no ſmall Conſequence with *Charles* the moſt ſerene Prince of *Caſtile*, ſent me into *Flanders*, as his Ambaſſador, for treating and compoſing Matters between

tween them. I was Colleague and Companion to that incomparable Man *Cuthbert Tonſtal*, whom the King with ſuch univerſal Applauſe lately made Maſter of the Rolls; but of whom I will ſay nothing; not becauſe I fear that the Teſtimony of a Friend will be ſuſpected, but rather becauſe his Learning and Virtues are too great for me to do them Juſtice, and ſo well known, that they need not my Commendations unleſs I would, according to the Proverb, *Shew the Sun with a Lanthorn.* Thoſe that were appointed by the Prince to treat with us, met us at *Bruges*, according to Agreement; they were all worthy Men. The *Margrave* of *Bruges* was their Head, and the chief Man among them; but he that was eſteemed the wiſeſt, and that ſpoke for the reſt, was *George Temſe* the Provoſt of *Caſſelſee*; both Art and Nature had concurred to make him eloquent: He was very learned in the Law; and as he had a great Capacity, ſo by a long Practice in Affairs, he was very dextrous at unravelling them. After we had ſeveral times met without coming to an Agreement, they went to *Bruſſels* for ſome Days to know the Prince's Pleaſure. And ſince our Buſineſs would admit it, I went to *Antwerp*: While I was there, among many that viſited me, there was one that was more acceptable to me than any other; *Peter Giles* born at *Antwerp*, who is a Man of great Honour, and of a good Rank

in

in his Town, tho' leſs than he deſerves; for I do not know if there be any where to be found a more learned and a better bred young Man: for as he is both a very worthy, and a very knowing Perſon; ſo he is ſo civil to all Men, ſo particularly kind to his Friends, and ſo full of Candour and Affection, that there is not perhaps above one or two any where to be found, that is in all Reſpects ſo perfect a Friend: He is extraordinarily modeſt, there is no Artifice in him; and yet no Man has more of a prudent Simplicity: His Converſation was ſo pleaſant and ſo innocently chearful, that his Company in a great meaſure leſſened any Longings to go back to my Country, and to my Wife and Children, which an Abſence of four Months had quicken'd very much. One Day as I was returning Home from Maſs at St. *Mary's*, which is the chief Church, and the moſt frequented of any in *Antwerp*, I ſaw him by Accident talking with a Stranger, who ſeemed paſt the Flower of his Age; his Face was tanned, he had a long Beard and his Cloak was hanging careleſly about him, ſo that by his Looks and Habit I concluded he was a Seaman. As ſoon as *Peter* ſaw me, he came and ſaluted me; and as I was returning his Civility, he took me aſide, and pointing to him with whom he had been diſcourſing, he ſaid, Do you ſee that Man? I was juſt thinking to bring him to you. I anſwered, he ſhould have been

been very welcome on your Account: And on his own too, replied he, if you knew the Man, for there is none alive that can give so copious an Account of unknown Nations and Countries as he can do; which I know you very much desire. Then said I, I did not guess amiss, for at first sight I took him for a Seaman: But you are much mistaken, said he, for he has not sailed as a Seaman, but as a Traveller, or rather a Philosopher. This *Raphael*, who from his family carries the Name of *Hythloday*, is not ignorant of the Latin Tongue, but is eminently learned in the Greek, having applied himself more particularly to that than to the former, because he had given himself much to Philosophy, in which he knew that the *Romans* have left us nothing that is valuable, except what is to be found in *Seneca* and *Cicero*. He is a *Portuguese* by Birth, and was so desirous of seeing the World, that he divided his Estate among his Brothers, run the same Hazard as *Americus Vesputius*, and bore a Share in three of his four Voyages, that are now published; only he did not return with him in his last, but obtained Leave of him almost by Force, that he might be one of those twenty-four who were left at the farthest Place at which they touched, in their last Voyage to *New Castile*. The leaving him thus, did not a little gratify one that was more fond of travelling than of returning Home, to be buried in his own Country;

Country; for he uſed often to ſay, that the Way to Heaven was the ſame from all Places; and he that had no Grave, had the Heavens ſtill over him. Yet this Diſpoſition of Mind had coſt him dear, if God had not been very gracious to him; for after he, with five *Caſtilians* had travelled over many Countries, at laſt, by ſtrange good Fortune, he got to *Ceylon*, and from thence to *Calicut*, where he very happily found ſome *Portugueſe* Ships; and, beyond all Men's Expectations, returned to his native Country. When *Peter* had ſaid this to me, I thanked him for his Kindneſs, in intending to give me the Acquaintance of a Man, whoſe Converſation he knew would be ſo acceptable; and upon that *Raphael* and I embraced each other. After thoſe Civilities were paſt, which are uſual with Strangers upon their firſt Meeting, we all went to my Houſe, and entering into the Garden, ſat down on a green Bank, and entertained one another in Diſcourſe. He told us, that when *Veſputius* had ſailed away, he and his Companions that ſtaid behind in *New Caſtile*, by degrees inſinuated themſelves into the Affections of the People of the Country, meeting often with them, and treating them gently: and at laſt they not only lived among them without Danger, but converſed familiarly with them; and got ſo far into the Heart of a Prince, whoſe Name and Country I have forgot, that he both furniſhed them plentifully

plentifully with all Things neceſſary, and alſo with the Conveniencies of travelling; both Boats when they went by Water, and Waggons when they travelled over Land: He ſent with them a very faithful Guide, who was to introduce and recommend them to ſuch other Princes as they had a Mind to ſee: And after many Days Journey, they came to Towns, and Cities, and to Commonwealths, that were both happily governed, and well peopled. Under the *Æquator*, and as far on both ſides of it as the Sun moves, there lay vaſt Deſarts that were parched with the perpetual Heat of the Sun; the Soil was withered, all Things look'd diſmally, and all Places were either quite uninhabited, or abounded with wild Beaſts and Serpents, and ſome few Men, that were neither leſs wild, nor leſs cruel than the Beaſts themſelves. But as they went farther, a new Scene opened, all Things grew milder, the Air leſs burning, the Soil more verdant, and even the Beaſts were leſs wild: And at laſt there were Nations, Towns, and Cities, that had not only mutual Commerce among themſelves, and with their Neighbours, but traded both by Sea and Land, to very remote Countries. There they found the Conveniencies of ſeeing many Countries on all Hands, for no Ship went any Voyage into which he and his Companions were not very welcome. The firſt veſſels that they ſaw were flat-bottomed, their Sails were made

made of Reeds and Wicker woven close together, only some were of Leather; but afterwards they found Ships made with round Keels, and Canvass Sails, and in all Respects like our Ships; and the Seamen understood both Astronomy and Navigation. He got wonderfully into their Favour, by shewing them the Use of the Needle, of which till then they were utterly ignorant. They sailed before with great Caution, and only in Summer Time, but now they count all Seasons alike, trusting wholly to the Loadstone, in which they are perhaps more secure than safe; so that there is Reason to fear, that this Discovery which was thought would prove so much to their Advantage, may by their Imprudence become an Occasion of much Mischief to them. But it were too long to dwell on all that he told us he had observed in every Place; it would be too great a Digression from our present Purpose; Whatever is necessary to be told, concerning those wise and prudent Institutions which he observed among civilized Nations, may perhaps be related by us on a more proper Occasion. We ask'd him many Questions concerning all these Things, to which he answered very willingly; only we made no Enquiries after Monsters, than which nothing is more common; for every where one may hear of ravenous Dogs and Wolves, and cruel Men-eaters; but it is not so easy to find States that are well and wisely governed.

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As he told us of many Things that were amiſs in thoſe new-diſcovered Countries, ſo he reckoned up not a few Things, from which Patterns might be taken for correcting the Errors of theſe Nations among whom we live; of which an Account may be given, as I have already promiſed, at ſome other Time; for at preſent I intend only to relate thoſe Particulars that he told us of the Manners and Laws of the *Utopians:* But I will begin with the Occaſion that led us to ſpeak of that Commonwealth. After *Raphael* had diſcourſed with great Judgment on the many Errors that were both among us and theſe Nations; had treated of the wiſe Inſtitutions both here and there, and had ſpoken as diſtinctly of the Cuſtoms and Government of every Nation through which he had paſt, as if he had ſpent his whole Life in it; *Peter* being ſtruck with Admiration, ſaid, I wonder *Raphael*, how it comes that you enter into no King's Service, for I am ſure there are none to whom you would not be very acceptable: For your Learning and Knowledge, both of Men and Things is ſuch, that you would not only entertain them very pleaſantly, but be of great Uſe to them, by the Examples you could ſet before them, and the Advices you could give them; and by this Means you would both ſerve your own Intereſt, and be of great Uſe to all your Friends. As for my Friends, anſwered he, I need not be much concerned, having already

ready done for them all that was incumbent on me; for when I was not only in good Health, but freſh and young, I diſtributed that among my Kindred and Friends, which other People do not part with till they are old and ſick; when they then unwillingly give that which they can enjoy no longer themſelves. I think my Friends ought to reſt contented with this, and not to expect that for their Sakes I ſhould enſlave my ſelf to any King whatſoever. Soft and fair, ſaid *Peter*, I do not mean that you ſhould be a Slave to any King, but only that you ſhould aſſiſt them, and be uſeful to them. The Change of the Word, ſaid he, does not alter the Matter. But term it as you will, replied *Peter*, I do not ſee any other Way in which you can be ſo uſeful, both in private to your Friends, and to the Publick, and by which you can make your own Condition happier. Happier! anſwered *Raphael*, is that to be compaſſed in a Way ſo abhorrent to my Genius? Now I live as I will, to which I believe few Courtiers can pretend: And there are ſo many that court the Favour of great Men, that there will be no great Loſs, if they are not troubled either with me or with others of my Temper. Upon this, ſaid I, I perceive *Raphael* that you neither deſire Wealth nor Greatneſs; and indeed I value and admire ſuch a Man much more than I do any of the great Men in the World. Yet I think you would do what would

well become so generous and philosophical a Soul as yours is, if you would apply your Time and Thoughts to publick Affairs, even tho' you may happen to find it a little uneasy to your self; and this you can never do with so much Advantage, as by being taken into the Council of some great Prince, and putting him on noble and worthy Actions, which I know you would do if you were in such a Post; for the Springs both of Good and Evil, flow from the Prince, over a whole Nation, as from a lasting fountain. So much Learning as you have, even without Practice in Affairs; or so great a Practice as you have had, without any other Learning, would render you a very fit Counsellor to any King whatsoever. You are doubly mistaken, said he, Mr. *More*, both in your Opinion of me, and in the Judgment you make of Things: For as I have not that Capacity that you fancy I have; so, if I had it. the Publick would not be one Jot the better, when I had sacrificed my quiet to it. For most Princes apply themselves more to Affairs of War than to the useful Arts of Peace; and in these I neither have any Knowledge, nor do I much desire it: They are generally more set on acquiring new Kingdoms, right or wrong, than on governing well those they possess. And among the Ministers of Princes, there are none that are not so wise as to need no Assistance, or at least that do not think themselves so wise,

that

that they imagine they need none; and if they court any, it is only thoſe for whom the Prince has much perſonal Favour, whom by their Faunings and Flatteries they endeavour to fix to their own Intereſts: And indeed Nature has ſo made us, that we all love to be flattered, and to pleaſe ourſelves with our own Notions. The old Crow loves his Young, and the Ape her Cubs. Now if in ſuch a Court, made up of Perſons who envy all others, and only admire themſelves, a Perſon ſhould but propoſe any thing that he had either read in Hiſtory, or obſerved in his Travels, the reſt would think that the Reputation of their Wiſdom would ſink, and that their Intereſts would be much depreſſed, if they could not run it down: And if all other Things failed, then they would fly to this, That ſuch or ſuch Things pleaſed our Anceſtors, and it were well for us if we could but match them. They would ſet up their Reſt on ſuch an Anſwer, as a ſufficient Confutation of all that could be ſaid; as if it were a great Misfortune, that any ſhould be found wiſer than his Anceſtors: But tho' they willingly let go all the good Things that were among thoſe of former Ages; yet if better Things are propoſed, they cover themſelves obſtinately with this Excuſe, of Reverence to paſt Times. I have met with theſe proud, moroſe, and abſurd Judgments of Things in many Places, particularly once in *England*.

Was you ever there, ſaid I? Yes, I was, anſwered he, and ſtaid ſome Months there, not long after the Rebellion in the Weſt was ſuppreſſed, with a great Slaughter of the poor People that were engaged in it.

I was then much obliged to that Reverend Prelate *John Morton* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Cardinal, and Chancellor of *England*; a Man, ſaid he, *Peter* (for Mr. *More* knows well what he was) that was not leſs venerable for his Wiſdom and Virtues, than for the high Character he bore: He was of a middle Stature, not broken with Age; his Looks begot Reverence rather than Fear; his Converſation was eaſy, but ſerious and grave; he ſometimes took Pleaſure to try the Force of thoſe that came as Suitors to him upon Buſineſs, by ſpeaking ſharply, tho' decently to them, and by that he diſcovered their Spirit and Preſence of Mind; with which he was much delighted, when it did not grow up to Impudence, as bearing a great Reſemblance to his own Temper; and he looked on ſuch Perſons as the fitteſt Men for Affairs. He ſpoke both gracefully and weightily; he was eminently ſkilled in the Law, had a vaſt Underſtanding, and a prodigious Memory: And thoſe excellent Talents with which Nature had furniſhed him, were improved by Study and Experience. When I was in *England* the King depended much on his Councils, and the Government

ſeemed

ſeemed to be chiefly ſupported by him; for from his Youth, he had been all along practiſed in Affairs; and having paſſed through many Traverſes of Fortune, he had with great Coſt acquired a vaſt Stock of Wiſdom; which is not ſoon loſt, when it is purchaſed ſo dear. One Day when I was dining with him, there happened to be at Table one of the *Engliſh* Lawyers, who took Occaſion to run out in a high Commendation of the ſevere Execution of Juſtice upon Thieves, who, as he ſaid, were then hanged ſo faſt, that there were ſometimes twenty on one Gibbet; and upon that he ſaid, he could not wonder enough how it came to paſs, that ſince ſo few eſcaped, there were yet ſo many Thieves left who were ſtill robbing in all Places. Upon this, I who took the Boldneſs to ſpeak freely before the Cardinal, ſaid, There was no Reaſon to wonder at the Matter, ſince this Way of puniſhing Thieves, was neither juſt in itſelf, nor good for the Publick; for as the Severity was too great, ſo the Remedy was not effectual; ſimple Theft not being ſo great a Crime, that it ought to coſt a Man his Life; no Puniſhment how ſevere ſoever, being able to reſtrain thoſe from robbing, who can find out no other Way of Livelihood. In this, ſaid I, not only you in *England*, but a great Part of the World imitate ſome ill Maſters, that are readier to chaſtiſe their Scholars, than to teach them. There are dreadful Puniſhments enacted againſt

Thieves, but it were much better to make ſuch good Proviſions, by which every Man might be put in a Method how to live, and ſo be preſerved from the fatal Neceſſity of ſtealing, and of dying for it. There has been Care enough taken for that, ſaid he, there are many Handicrafts, and there is Huſbandry, by which they may make a Shift to live, unleſs they have a greater Mind to follow ill Courſes. That will not ſerve your Turn, ſaid I, for many loſe their Limbs in Civil or Foreign Wars, as lately in the *Corniſh* Rebellion, and ſome time ago in your Wars with *France*, who being thus mutilated in the Service of their King and Country, can no more follow their old Trades, and are too old to learn new ones: But ſince Wars are only accidental Things, and have Intervals, let us conſider thoſe Things that fall out every Day. There is a great Number of Noblemen among you, that are themſelves as idle as Drones, that ſubſiſt on other Men's Labour, on the Labour of their Tenants, whom, to raiſe their Revenues, they pare to the Quick. This indeed is the only Inſtance of their Frugality, for in all other Things they are Prodigal, even to the Beggaring of themſelves: But beſides this, they carry about with them a great Number of idle Fellows, who never learned any Art by which they may gain their Living; and theſe, as ſoon as either their Lord dies, or they themſelves fall ſick, are turned out of Doors; for your Lords are readier to feed idle People, than to take Care

of

of the Sick; and often the Heir is not able to keep together ſo great a Family as his Predeceſſor did: Now when the Stomachs of thoſe that are thus turned out of Doors, grow keen, they rob no leſs keenly; and what elſe can they do? for when, by wandering about, they have worn out both their Health and their Cloaths, and are tattered, and look ghaſtly, Men of Quality will not entertain them, and poor Men dare not do it; knowing that one who has been bred up in Idleneſs and Pleaſure, and who was uſed to walk about with his Sword and Buckler, deſpiſing all the Neighbourhood with an inſolent Scorn, as far below him, is not fit for the Spade and Mattock: Nor will he ſerve a poor Man for ſo ſmall a Hire, and in ſo low a Diet as he can afford to give him. To this he anſwered, This Sort of Men ought to be particularly cheriſhed, for in them conſiſts the Force of the Armies for which we have occaſion; ſince their Birth inſpires them with a nobler Senſe of Honour, than is to be found among Tradeſmen or Ploughmen. You may as well ſay, replied I, that you muſt cheriſh Thieves on the Account of Wars, for you will never want the one, as long as you have the other; and as Robbers prove ſometimes gallant Soldiers, ſo Soldiers often prove brave Robbers; ſo near an Alliance there is between thoſe two Sorts of Life. But this bad Cuſtom, ſo common among you, of keeping many Servants, is not peculiar to this Nation. In

France there is yet a more peſtiferous Sort of People, for the whole Country is full of Soldiers, ſtill kept up in Time of Peace; if ſuch a State of a Nation can be called a Peace: And theſe are kept in Pay upon the ſame Account that you plead for thoſe idle Retainers about Noblemen: This being a Maxim of thoſe pretended Stateſmen that it is neceſſary for the publick Safety, to have a good Body of *Veteran* Soldiers ever in readineſs. They think raw Men are not to be depended on, and they ſometimes ſeek Occaſions for making War, that they may train up their Soldiers in the Art of cutting Throats, or as *Saluſt* obſerved, for keeping their Hands in uſe, that they may not grow dull by too long an Intermiſſion. But *France* has learned to its Coſt, how dangerous it is to feed ſuch Beaſts. The Fate of the *Romans*, *Carthaginians*, and *Syrians*, and many other Nations, and Cities, which were both overturned, and quite ruined by thoſe ſtanding Armies, ſhould make others wiſer: And the Folly of this Maxim of the *French*, appears plainly even from this, that their trained Soldiers often find your raw Men prove too hard for them; of which I will not ſay much, leſt you may think I flatter the *Engliſh*. Every Day's Experience ſhews, that the Mechanicks in the Towns, or the Clowns in the Country, are not afraid of fighting with thoſe idle Gentlemen, if they are not diſabled by ſome Misfortune in their Body, or diſpirited by extreme

treme Want, ſo that you need not fear, that thoſe well-ſhaped and ſtrong Men, (for it is only ſuch that Noblemen love to keep about them, till they ſpoil them) who now grow feeble with Eaſe, and are ſoftned with their effeminate Manner of Life, would be leſs fit for Action if they were well bred and well employed. And it ſeems very unreaſonable, that for the Proſpect of a War, which you need never have but when you pleaſe, you ſhould maintain ſo many idle Men, as will always diſturb you in Time of Peace, which is ever to be more conſidered than War. But I do not think that this Neceſſity of Stealing, ariſes only from hence; there is another Cauſe of it more peculiar to *England*. What is that? ſaid the Cardinal; The increaſe of Paſture, ſaid I, by which your Sheep, which are naturally mild, and eaſily kept in order, may be ſaid now to devour Men, and unpeople, not only Villages, but Towns: For wherever it is found, that the Sheep of any Soil yield a ſofter and richer Wool than ordinary, there the Nobility and Gentry, and even thoſe holy Men the Abbots, not contented with the old Rents which their Farms yielded, nor thinking it enough that they living at their Eaſe, do no good to the Publick, reſolve to do it Hurt inſtead of Good. They ſtop the Courſe of Agriculture, deſtroying Houſes and Towns, reſerving only the Churches, and incloſe Grounds that they may lodge their Sheep in them,

As if Foreſts and Parks had ſwallowed up too little of the Land, thoſe worthy Country Men turn the beſt inhabited Places in Solitudes; for when an unſatiable Wretch, who is a Plague to his Country, reſolves to incloſe many thouſand Acres of Ground, the Owners, as well as Tenants, are turned out of their Poſſeſſions, by Tricks, or by main Force, or being wearied out with ill Uſage, they are forced to ſell them. By which Means thoſe miſerable People, both Men and Women, Married and Unmarried, Old and Young, with their poor, but numerous Families, (ſince Country Buſineſs requires many Hands) are all forced to change their Seats, not knowing whither to go; and they muſt ſell almoſt for nothing, their Houſhold Stuff, which could not bring them much Money, even tho' they might ſtay for a Buyer: When that little Money is at an end, for it will be ſoon ſpent; what is left for them to do, but either to ſteal and ſo to be hanged, (God knows how juſtly) or to go about and beg? And if they do this, they are put in Priſon as idle Vagabonds; while they would willingly work, but can find none that will hire them; for there is no more Occaſion for Country Labour, to which they have been bred, when there is no Arable Ground left. One Shepherd can look after a Flock, which will ſtock an extent of Ground that would require many Hands, if it were to be ploughed and reaped. This likewiſe

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in many Places raiſes the Price of Corn. The Price of Wool is alſo ſo riſen, that the poor People who were wont to make Cloth, are no more able to buy it; and this likewiſe makes many of them idle: For ſince the Increaſe of Paſture, God has puniſhed the Avarice of the Owners, by a Rot among the Sheep, which has deſtroyed vaſt Numbers of them; to us it might have ſeemed more juſt had it fell on the Owners themſelves. But ſuppoſe the Sheep ſhould increaſe ever ſo much, their Price is not like to fall; ſince tho' they cannot be called a *Monopoly*, becauſe they are not engroſſed by one Perſon, yet they are in ſo few Hands, and theſe are ſo rich, that as they are not preſt to ſell them ſooner than they have a Mind to it, ſo they never do it till they have raiſed the Price as high as poſſible. And on the ſame Account it is, that the other Kinds of Cattle are ſo dear, becauſe many Villages being pulled down, and all Country-Labour being much neglected, there are none who make it their Buſineſs to breed them. The Rich do not breed Cattle as they do Sheep, but buy them lean, and at low Prices; and after they have fattened them on their Grounds, ſell them again at high Rates. And I do not think that all the Inconveniencies this will produce, are yet obſerved; for as they ſell the Cattle dear, ſo if they are conſumed faſter than the breeding Countries from which they are brought, can afford them;

them; then the Stock must decrease, and this must needs end in great Scarcity; and by these Means this your Island, which seemed as to this Particular, the happiest in the World, will suffer much by the cursed Avarice of a few Persons; besides this, the rising of Corn makes all People lessen their Families as much as they can; and what can those who are dismissed by them do, but either beg or rob? And to this last, a Man of a great Mind is much sooner drawn than to the former. Luxury likewise breaks in apace upon you, to set forward your Poverty and Misery; there is an excessive Vanity in Apparel, and great Cost in Diet; and that not only in Noblemen's Families, but even among Tradesmen; among the Farmers themselves, and among all Ranks of Persons. You have also many infamous Houses, and besides those that are known, the Taverns and Alehouses are no better; add to these, Dice, Cards, Tables, Foot-ball, Tennis, and Coits, in which Money runs fast away; and those that are initiated into them, must in the Conclusion betake themselves to Robbing for a Supply. Banish these Plagues, and give Orders that those who have dispeopled so much Soil, may either rebuild the Villages they have pulled down, or let out their Grounds to such as will do it: Restrain those Engrossings of the Rich, that are as bad almost as *Monopolies*; leave fewer Occasions to Idleness; let Agriculture be set up again, and the Manufacture

facture of the Wool be regulated, that ſo there may be Work found for thoſe Companies of idle People, whom Want forces to be Thieves, or who now being idle Vagabonds, or uſeleſs Servants, will certainly grow Thieves at laſt. If you do not find a Remedy to theſe Evils, it is a vain Thing to boaſt of your Severity in puniſhing Theft; which tho' it may have the Appearance of Juſtice, yet in itſelf is neither juſt nor convenient: For if you ſuffer your People to be ill educated, and their Manners to be corrupted from their Infancy, and then puniſh them for thoſe Crimes to which their firſt Education diſpoſed them, what elſe is to be concluded from this, but that you firſt make Thieves and then puniſh them?

While I was talking thus, the Counſellor who was preſent had prepared an Anſwer, and had reſolved to reſume all I had ſaid, according to the Formality of a Debate, in which Things are generally repeated more faithfully than they are anſwered; as if the chief Trial to be made, were of Men's Memories. You have talked prettily for a Stranger, ſaid he, having heard of many Things among us, which you have not been able to conſider well; but I will make the whole Matter plain to you, and will firſt repeat in Order all that you have ſaid, then I will ſhew how much your Ignorance of our Affairs has miſled you, and will in the laſt Place anſwer all your Arguments.

Arguments. And that I may begin where I promiſed, there were four Things——Hold your Peace, ſaid the Cardinal, this will take up too much Time; therefore we will at preſent eaſe you of the Trouble of anſwering, and reſerve it to our next Meeting, which ſhall be To-morrow, if *Raphael*'s Affairs and your's can admit of it: But *Raphael*, ſaid he to me, I would gladly know upon what Reaſon it is that you think Theft ought not to be puniſhed by Death? Would you give Way to it? Or do you propoſe any other Puniſhment that will be more uſeful to the Publick? For ſince Death does not reſtrain Theft, if Men thought their Lives would be ſafe, what Fear or Force could reſtrain ill Men? On the Contrary, they would look on the Mitigation of the Puniſhment, as an Invitation to commit more Crimes. I anſwered, It ſeems to me a very unjuſt Thing to take away a Man's Life for a little Money; for nothing in the World can be of equal Value with a Man's Life: And if it is ſaid, that it is not for the Money that one ſuffers, but for his breaking the Law; I muſt ſay, extream Juſtice is an extream Injury: for we ought not to approve of theſe terrible Laws that make the ſmalleſt Offences capital; nor of that Opinion of the *Stoicks*, that makes all Crimes equal, as if there were no difference to be made between the killing a Man, and the taking his Purſe, between which, if we examine Things impartially, there

is no Likeneſs nor Proportion. God has commanded us not to kill, and ſhall we kill ſo eaſily for a little Money? But if one ſhall ſay, That by that Law we are only forbid to kill any, except when the Laws of the Land allow of it; upon the ſame Grounds, Laws may be made in ſome Caſes to allow of Adultery and Perjury: for God having taken from us the Right of diſpoſing, either of our own, or of other Peoples Lives, if it is pretended that the mutual Conſent of Men in making Laws, can authorize Manſlaughter in Caſes in which God has given us no Example, that it frees People from the Obligation of the Divine Law, and ſo makes Murder a lawful Action: What is this, but to give a Preference to Human Laws before the Divine? And if this is once admitted, by the ſame Rule, Men may in all other Things put what Reſtrictions they pleaſe upon the Laws of God. If by the *Moſaical* Law, tho' it was rough and ſevere, as being a Yoke laid on an obſtinate and ſervile Nation, Men were only fined, and not put to Death for Theft; we cannot imagine that in this new Law of Mercy, in which God treats us with the Tenderneſs of a Father, he has given us a greater Licenſe to Cruelty, than he did to the *Jews*. Upon theſe Reaſons it is, that I think putting Thieves to Death is not lawful; and it is plain and obvious that it is abſurd, and of ill Conſequence to the Common-Wealth, that a Thief and a Murderer ſhould be equally

equally punished: for if a Robber sees that his Danger is the same, if he is convicted of Theft, as if he were guilty of Murder, this will naturally incite him to kill the Person whom otherwise he would only have robbed, since if the Punishment is the same, there is more Security, and less Danger of discovery, when he that can best make it is put out of the Way; so that terrifying Thieves too much, provokes them to cruelty.

But as to the Question, What more convenient Way of Punishment can be found? I think it is much more easier to find out that, than to invent any Thing that is worse; Why should we doubt but the Way that was so long in Use among the Old *Romans*, who understood so well the Arts of Government, was very proper for their Punishment? They condemned such as they found Guilty of great Crimes, to work their whole Lives in Quarries, or to dig in Mines with Chains about them. But the Method that I liked best, was that which I observed in my Travels in *Persia*, among the *Polylerits*, who are a considerable and well-governed People. They pay a yearly Tribute to the King of *Persia*; but in all other Respects they are a free Nation, and governed by their own Laws. They lie far from the Sea, and are environed with Hills; and being contented with the Productions of their own Country, which is very fruitful, they have little Commerce with any other Nation; and as they,

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according to the Genius of their Country, have no Inclination to inlarge their Borders; ſo their Mountains, and the Penſion they pay to the *Perſian*, ſecure them from all Invaſions. Thus they have no Wars among them; they live rather conveniently than with Splendor, and may be rather called a Happy Nation, than either Eminent or Famous; for I do not think that they are known ſo much as by Name to any but their next Neighbours. Thoſe that are found guilty of Theft among them, are bound to make Reſtitution to the Owner, and not as it is in other Places, to the Prince, for they reckon that the Prince has no more right to the ſtolen Goods than the Thief; but if that which was ſtolen is no more in being, then the Goods of the Thieves are eſtimated, and Reſtitution being made out of them, the Remainder is given to their Wives and Children: and they themſelves are condemned to ſerve in the Publick Works, but are neither impriſoned, nor chained, unleſs there happened to be ſome extraordinary Circumſtances in their Crimes. They go about looſe and free, working for the Publick: If they are idle or backward to work, they are whipp'd; but if they work hard, they are well uſed and treated without any mark of Reproach, only the Liſts of them are called always at Night, and then they are ſhut up: They ſuffer no other Uneaſineſs, but this of conſtant Labour; for as they work for the Publick, ſo they are well entertained

tertained out of the public Stock, which is done differently in different Places: In ſome Places, whatever is beſtowed on them, is raiſed by a charitable Contribution; and tho' this Way may ſeem uncertain, yet ſo merciful are the Inclinations of that People, that they are plentifully ſupplied by it; but in other Places, publick Revenues are ſet aſide for them; or there is a conſtant Tax of a Poll-money raiſed for their Maintenance. In ſome Places they are ſet to no Public Work, but every private Man that has occaſion to hire Workmen, goes to the Market-places and hires them of the Publick, a little lower than he would do a Freeman: If they go lazily about their Taſk, he may quicken them with the Whip. By this Means there is always ſome piece of Work or other to be done by them; and beſide their Livelihood, they earn ſomewhat ſtill to the Publick. They all wear a peculiar habit, of one certain Colour, and their Hair is cropt a little above their Ears, and a Piece of one of their Ears is cut off. Their Friends are allowed to give them either Meat, Drink, or Cloaths, ſo they are of their proper Colour; but it is Death, both to the Giver and Taker, if they give them Money; nor is it leſs penal for any Freeman to take Money from them, upon any Account whatſoever: And it is alſo Death for any of theſe *Slaves* (ſo they are called) to handle Arms. Thoſe of every Diviſion of the Country, are diſtinguiſhed by a peculiar

peculiar Mark; which it is Capital for them to lay aſide, to go out of their Bounds, or to talk with a Slave of another Juriſdiction; and the very Attempt of an Eſcape, is no leſs penal than an Eſcape itſelf; it is Death for any other Slave to be acceſſary to it; and if a Freeman engages in it he is condemned to Slavery: Thoſe that diſcover it are rewarded; if Freemen, in Money; and if Slaves, with Liberty, together with a Pardon for being acceſſary to it; that ſo they might find their Account, rather in repenting of their engaging in ſuch a Deſign, than in perſiſting in it.

Theſe are their Laws and Rules in Relation to Robbery; and it is obvious that they are as advantageous as they are mild and gentle; ſince Vice is not only deſtroyed, and Men preſerved, but they treated in ſuch a Manner as to make them ſee the Neceſſity of being honeſt, and of employing the reſt of their Lives, in repairing the Injuries they have formerly done to Society. Nor is there any Hazard of their falling back to their old Cuſtoms: And ſo little do Travellers apprehend Miſchief from them, that they generally make uſe of them for Guides, from one Juriſdiction to another; for there is nothing left them by which they can rob, or be the better for it, ſince as they are diſarmed, ſo the very having of Money is a ſufficient Conviction: and as they are certainly puniſhed if diſcovered, ſo they cannot hope to eſcape; for their Habit being in all

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the Parts of it different from what is commonly worn, they cannot fly away, unleſs they would go naked, and even then their crop'd Ear would betray them. The only Danger to be feared from them, is their conſpiring againſt the Government: But thoſe of one Diviſion and Neighbourhood can do nothing to any Purpoſe, unleſs a general Conſpiracy were laid amongſt all the Slaves of the ſeveral Juriſdictions, which cannot be done, ſince they cannot meet or talk together; nor will any venture on a Deſign where the Concealment would be ſo dangerous, and the Diſcovery ſo profitable. None are quite hopeleſs of recovering their Freedom, ſince by their Obedience and Patience, and by giving good Grounds to believe that they will change their manner of Life for the Future, they may expect at laſt to obtain their Liberty: and ſome are every Year reſtored to it, upon the good Character that is given of them. When I had related all this, I added, That I did not ſee why ſuch a Method might not be followed with more Advantage, than could ever be expected from that ſevere Juſtice which the Counſellor magnified ſo much. To this he anſwered, That it could never take Place in *England*, without endangering the whole Nation. As he ſaid this, he ſhook his Head, made ſome Grimaces, and held his Peace, while all the Company ſeemed of his Opinion, except the Cardinal, who ſaid that it was not eaſy to form a Judgment of its Succeſs,

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ſince it was a Method that never yet had been tried: But if, ſaid he, when the Sentence of Death was paſt upon a Thief, the Prince would reprieve him for a while, and make the Experiment upon him, denying him the Privilege of a Sanctuary; and then if it had a good Effect upon him, it might take Place; and if it did not ſucceed, the worſt would be, to execute the Sentence on the condemned Perſons at laſt. And I do not ſee, added he, why it would be either unjuſt, inconvenient, or at all dangerous, to admit of ſuch a delay: In my Opinion, the Vagabonds ought to be treated in the ſame Manner; againſt whom, though we have made many Laws, yet we have not been able to gain our End. When the Cardinal had done, they all commended the Motion, tho' they had deſpiſed it when it came from Me; but more particularly commended what related to the Vagabonds, becauſe it was his own Obſervation.

I do not know whether it be worth while to tell what followed, for it was very ridiculous; but I ſhall venture at it, for as it is not foreign to this Matter, ſo ſome good Uſe may be made of it. There was a Jeſter ſtanding by, that counterfeited the Fool ſo naturally, that he ſeemed to be really one. The Jeſts which he offered were ſo cold and dull, that we laughed more at him than at them; yet ſometimes he ſaid, as it were by chance, Things that were not unpleaſant; ſo as to juſtify the

the old Proverb, *That he who throws the Dice often, will ſometimes have a lucky Hit.* When one of the Company had ſaid, that I had taken care of the Thieves, and the Cardinal had taken care of the Vagabonds, ſo that there remained nothing but that ſome publick Proviſion might be made for the Poor, whom Sickneſs or Old Age had diſabled from Labour: Leave that to me ſaid the Fool, and I ſhall take care of them; for there is no Sort of People whoſe Sight I abhor more, having been ſo often vexed with them, and with their ſad Complaints; but as dolefully ſoever as they have told their Tale, they could never prevail ſo far as to draw one Penny from me: for either I had no Mind to give them any Thing, or when I had a Mind to do it, I had nothing to give them: and they now know me ſo well, that they will not loſe their Labour, but let me paſs without giving me any Trouble, becauſe they hope for nothing, no more in Faith than if I were a *Prieſt:* But I would have a Law made, for ſending all theſe Beggars to Monaſteries, the Men to the *Benedictines* to be made Lay-Brothers, and the Women to be Nuns. The Cardinal ſmiled, and approved of it in jeſt; but the reſt liked it in earneſt: There was a Divine preſent, who tho' he was a grave moroſe Man, yet he was ſo pleaſed with this Reflection that was made on the Prieſts and the Monks, that he began to play with the Fool, and ſaid to him, This will not deliver you from

from all Beggars, except you take Care of us *Friars*. That is done already, anſwered the Fool, for the Cardinal has provided for you, by what he propoſed for reſtraining Vagabonds, and ſetting them to work, for I know no Vagabonds like you. This was well entertained by the whole Company, who looking at the Cardinal, perceived that he was not ill pleaſed at it; only the Friar himſelf was vexed, as may be eaſily imagined, and fell into ſuch a Paſſion, that he could not forbear railing at the Fool, and calling him *Knave*, *Slanderer*, *Backbiter*, and *Son of Perdition*, and then cited ſome dreadful Threatnings out of the Scriptures againſt him. Now the Jeſter thought he was in his Element, and laid about him freely: Good Friar, ſaid he, be not angry, for it is written, *In Patience poſſeſs your Soul.* The Friar anſwered, (for I ſhall give you his own Words) I am not angry, you Hangman; at leaſt I do not ſin in it, for the Pſalmiſt ſays, *Be ye angry, and ſin not.* Upon this the Cardinal admoniſhed him gently, and wiſhed him to govern his Paſſions. No, my Lord, ſaid he, I ſpeak not but from a good Zeal, which I ought to have; for Holy Men have had a good Zeal, as it is ſaid, *The Zeal of thy Houſe hath eaten me up*; and we ſing in our Church, that thoſe who mocked *Eliſha* as he went up to the Houſe of God, felt the Effects of his Zeal; which that Mocker, that Rogue, that Scoundrel, will perhaps feel.

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You do this perhaps with a good Intention, ſaid the Cardinal; but in my Opinion, it were wiſer in you, and perhaps better for you, not to engage in ſo ridiculous a Conteſt with a Fool. No, my Lord, anſwered he, that were not wiſely done; for *Solomon*, the wiſeſt of Men, ſaid, *Anſwer a Fool according to his Folly*; which I now do, and ſhew him the Ditch into which he will fall, if he is not aware of it; for if the many Mockers of *Eliſha*, who was but one bald Man, felt the Effect of his Zeal, What will become of one Mocker of ſo many Friars, among whom there are ſo many bald Men? We have likewiſe a Bull, by which all that jeer us are excommunicated. When the Cardinal ſaw that there was no End of this Matter, he made a Sign to the Fool to withdraw, turned the Diſcourſe another Way; and ſoon after roſe from the Table, and diſmiſſing us, went to hear Cauſes.

Thus, Mr. *More*, I have run out into a tedious Story, of the Length of which I had been aſhamed, if, as you earneſtly begged it of me, I had not obſerved you to hearken to it, as if you had no mind to loſe any Part of it: I might have contracted it, but I reſolved to give it you at large, that you might obſerve how thoſe that deſpiſed what I had propoſed, no ſooner perceived that the Cardinal did not diſlike it, but preſently approved of it, fawned ſo on him, and flattered him to ſuch a Degree, that they in good earneſt applauded thoſe

those Things that he only liked in jeſt. And from hence you may gather, how little Courtiers would value either me or my Counſels.

To this I anſwered, You have done me a great kindneſs in this Relation; for as every Thing has been related by you, both wiſely and pleaſantly, ſo you have made me imagine, that I was in my own Country, and grown young again, by recalling that good Cardinal to my Thoughts, in whoſe Family I was bred from my Childhood: And tho' you are upon other Accounts very dear to me, yet you are the dearer, becauſe you honour his Memory ſo much: But after all this I cannot change my Opinion; for I ſtill think that if you could overcome that Averſion which you have to the Courts of Princes, you might, by the Advice which it is in your Power to give, do a great deal of good to Mankind; and this is the chief Deſign that every good Man ought to propoſe to himſelf in living: for your Friend *Plato* thinks that Nations will be happy, when either Philoſophers become Kings, or Kings become Philoſophers; it is no wonder if we are ſo far from that Happineſs, while Philoſophers will not think it their Duty to aſſiſt Kings with their Councils. They are not ſo baſe-minded, ſaid he, but that they would willingly do it: Many of them have already done it by their Books, if thoſe that are in Power would but hearken to their good Advice. But *Plato* judged right, that except Kings themſelves became Philoſophers, they who from

their Childhood are corrupted with falſe Notions, would never fall in intirely with the Councils of Philoſophers, and this he himſelf found to be true in the Perſon of *Dionyſius*.

Do not you think, that if I were about any King, propoſing good Laws to him, and endeavouring to root out all the curſed Seeds of Evil that I found in him, I ſhould either be turned out of his Court, or at leaſt be laughed at for my Pains? For Inſtance, what could I ſignify if I were about the King of *France*, and were called into his Cabinet-Council, where ſeveral wiſe Men, in his Hearing, were propoſing many Expedients; as by what Arts and Practices *Milan* may be kept; and *Naples*, that has ſo oft ſlip'd out of their Hands, recovered; how the *Venetians*, and after them the reſt of *Italy* may be ſubdued; and then how *Flanders*, *Brabant*, and all *Burgundy*, and ſome other Kingdoms which he has ſwallowed already in his Deſigns, may be added to his Empire. One propoſes a League with the *Venetians*, to be kept as long as he finds his Account in it, and that he ought to communicate Councils with them, and give them ſome Share of the Spoil, till his Succeſs makes him need or fear them leſs, and then it will be eaſily taken out of their Hands. Another propoſes the hiring the *Germans*, and the ſecuring the *Switzers* by Penſions. Another propoſes the gaining the Emperor by Money, which is Omnipotent with him. Another propoſes a Peace with the King

King of *Arragon*, and in order to cement it, the yielding up the King of *Navarre*'s Pretenſions. Another thinks the Prince of *Caſtile* is to be wrought on, by the Hope of an Alliance; and that ſome of his Courtiers are to be gained to the *French* Faction by Penſions. The hardeſt Point of all is what to do with *England*: A Treaty of Peace is to be ſet on Foot, and if their Alliance is not to be depended on, yet it is to be made as firm as poſſible; and they are to be called Friends, but ſuſpected as Enemies: Therefore the *Scots* are to be kept in Readineſs, to be let looſe upon *England* on every Occaſion; and ſome baniſhed Nobleman is to be ſupported underhand (for by the League it cannot be done avowedly) who has a Pretenſion to the Crown, by which Means that ſuſpected Prince may be kept in Awe. Now when Things are in ſo great a Fermentation, and ſo many gallant Men are joining Councils, how to carry on the War, if ſo mean a Man as I ſhould ſtand up, and wiſh them to change all their Councils, to let *Italy* alone, and ſtay at Home, ſince the Kingdom of *France* was indeed greater than could be well governed by one Man; that therefore he ought not to think of adding others to it: And if after this, I ſhould propoſe to them the Reſolutions of the *Achorians*, a People that lie on the South East of *Utopia*, who long ago engaged in War, in order to add to the Dominions of their Prince another Kingdom, to which he had ſome Pretenſions by an

ancient Alliance. This they conquer'd, but found that the Trouble of keeping it, was equal to that by which it was gained; that the conquer'd People were always either in Rebellion or expoſed to foreign Invaſions, while they were obliged to be inceſſantly at War, either for or againſt them, and conſequently could never diſband their Army; that in the mean Time they were oppreſs'd with Taxes, their Money went out of the Kingdom, their Blood was ſpilt for the Glory of their King, without procuring the leaſt Advantage to the People, who received not the ſmalleſt Benefit from it even in Time of Peace; and that their Manners being corrupted by a long War, Robbery and Murders, every where abounded, and their Laws fell into Contempt; while their King, diſtracted with the Care of two Kingdoms, was the leſs able to apply his Mind to the Intereſt of either. When they ſaw this, and that there would be no End to theſe Evils, they by joint Councils made an humble Addreſs to their King, deſiring him to chuſe which of the two Kingdoms he had the greateſt Mind to keep, ſince he could not hold both; for they were too great a People to be governed by a divided King, ſince no Man would willingly have a Groom that ſhould be in common between him and another. Upon which the good Prince was forced to quit his new Kingdom to one of his Friends, (who was not long after dethroned) and to be contented

tented with his old one. To this I would add, that after all thoſe warlike Attempts, the vaſt Confuſions, and the Conſumption both of Treaſure and of People that muſt follow them; perhaps upon ſome Misfortune, they might be forced to throw up all at laſt; therefore it ſeemed much more eligible that the King ſhould improve his ancient Kingdom all he could, and make it flouriſh as much as poſſible; that he ſhould love his People, and be beloved of them; that he ſhould live among them, govern them gently, and let other Kingdoms alone, ſince that which had fallen to his Share was big enough, if not too big for him. Pray how do you think would ſuch a Speech as this be heard? I confeſs, ſaid I, I think not very well.

But what, ſaid he, if I ſhould ſort with another Kind of Miniſters, whoſe chief Contrivances and Conſultations were, by what Art the Prince's Treaſures might be encreaſed. Where one propoſes raiſing the Value of Specie when the King's Debts are large, and lowering it when his Revenues were to come in, that ſo he might both pay much with a little, and in a little receive a great deal: Another propoſes a Pretence of a War, that Money might be raiſed in order to cary it on, and that a Peace be concluded as ſoon as that was done; and this with ſuch Appearances of Religion as might work on the People, and make them impute it to the Piety of their Prince, and

to his Tenderneſs for the Lives of his Subjects. A third offers ſome old muſty Laws, that have been antiquated by a long diſuſe; and which, as they had been forgotten by all the Subjects, ſo they had been alſo broken by them; and propoſes the levying the Penalties of theſe Laws, that as it would bring in a vaſt Treaſure, ſo there might be a very good Pretence for it, ſince it would look like the executing a Law, and the doing of Juſtice. A fourth propoſes the prohibiting of many Things under ſevere Penalties, eſpecially ſuch as were againſt the Intereſt of the People, and then the diſpenſing with theſe Prohibitions upon great Compoſitions, to thoſe who might find their Advantage in breaking them. This would ſerve two Ends, both of them acceptable to many; for as thoſe whoſe Avarice led them to tranſgreſs, would be ſeverely fined, ſo the ſelling Licences dear, would look as if a Prince were tender of his People, and would not eaſily, or at low Rates, diſpenſe with any Thing that might be againſt the publick Good. Another propoſes, that the Judges muſt be made ſure, that they may declare always in Favour of the Prerogative, that they muſt be often ſent for to Court, that the King may hear them argue thoſe Points in which he is concerned; ſince how unjuſt ſoever any of his Pretenſions may be, yet ſtill ſome one or other of them, either out of Contradiction to others, or the Pride of Singularity, or to make their Court,

Court, would find out ſome Pretence or other to give the King a fair Colour to carry the Point: For if the Judges but differ in Opinion, the cleareſt Thing in the World is made by that Means diſputable, and Truth being once brought in Queſtion, the King may then take Advantage to expound the Law for his own Profit; while the Judges that ſtand out will be brought over, either out of Fear or Modeſty; and they being thus gained, all of them may be ſent to the Bench to give Sentence boldly, as the King would have it: For fair Pretences will never be wanting when Sentence is to be given in the Prince's Favour: It will either be ſaid, that Equity lies of his Side, or ſome Words in the Law will be found founding that way, or ſome forced Senſe will be put on them; and when all other Things fail, the King's undoubted Prerogative will be pretended, as that which is above all Law; and to which a religious Judge ought to have a ſpecial Regard. Thus all conſent to that Maxim of *Craſſus*, that a Prince cannot have Treaſure enough, ſince he muſt maintain his Armies out of it: That a King, even though he would, can do nothing unjuſtly; that all Property is in him, not excepting the very Perſons of his Subjects: And that no Man has any other Property, but that which the King out of his Goodneſs thinks fit to leave him: And they think it is the Prince's Intereſt, that there be as little of this left as may be, as if it were his Ad-

vantage that his People ſhould have neither Riches nor Liberty; ſince theſe Things make them leſs eaſy and leſs willing to ſubmit to a cruel and unjuſt Government; whereas Neceſſity and Poverty blunts them, makes them patient, beats them down, and breaks that Height of Spirit, that might otherwiſe diſpoſe them to rebel. Now what if after all theſe Propoſitions were made, I ſhould riſe up and aſſert, that ſuch Councils were both unbecoming a King, and miſchievous to him: And that not only his Honour but his Safety conſiſted more in his People's Wealth, than in his own; if I ſhould ſhew that they chooſe a King for their own Sake, and not for his; that by his Care and Endeavours they may be both eaſy and ſafe; and that therefore a Prince ought to take more Care of his People's Happineſs, than of his own, as a Shepherd is to take more Care of his Flock than of himſelf. It is alſo certain, that are they much miſtaken, that think the Poverty of a Nation is a means of the publick Safety, Who quarrel more than Beggars? Who does more earneſtly long for a Change, than he that is uneaſy in his preſent Circumſtances? And who run to create Confuſions with ſo deſperate a Boldneſs, as thoſe who having nothing to loſe, hope to gain by them? If a King ſhould fall under ſuch Contempt or Envy, that he could not keep his Subjects in their Duty, but by Oppreſſion and ill Uſage, and by rendering them poor and miſerable,

it

it were certainly better for him to quit his Kingdom, than to retain it by ſuch Methods, as makes him while he keeps the Name of Authority, loſe the Majeſty due to it. Nor is it ſo becoming the Dignity of a King to reign over Beggars, as over rich and happy Subjects. And therefore *Fabricius*, a Man of a noble and exalted Temper, ſaid, he would rather govern rich Men, than be rich himſelf; ſince for one Man to abound in Wealth and Pleaſure, when all about him are mourning and groaning, is to be a Gaoler and not a King: He is an unſkilful Phyſician, that cannot cure one Diſeaſe without caſting his Patient into another: So he that can find no other Way for correcting the Errors of his People, but by taking from them the Conveniencies of Life, ſhews that he knows not what it is to govern a free Nation. He himſelf ought rather to ſhake off his Sloth, or to lay down his Pride; for the Contempt or Hatred that his People have for him, takes its riſe from the Vices in himſelf. Let him live upon what belongs to him, without wronging others, and accommodate his Expence to his Revenue. Let him puniſh Crimes, and by his wiſe Conduct let him endeavour to prevent them, rather than be ſevere when he has ſuffered them to be too common: Let him not raſhly revive Laws that are abrogated by diſuſe, eſpecially if they have been long forgotten, and never wanted. And let him never take any Penalty for the Breach of them,

to which a Judge would not give way in a private Man, but would look on him as a crafty and unjuſt Perſon for pretending to it. To theſe Things I would add, that Law among the *Macarians*, a People that lie not far from *Utopia*, by which their King, on the Day on which he begins to reign, is tied by an Oath confirmed by ſolemn Sacrifices, never to have at once above a thouſand Pounds of Gold in his Treaſures, or ſo much Silver as is equal to that in Value. This Law, they tell us, was made by an excellent King, who had more Regard to the Riches of his Country, than to his own Wealth: and therefore provided againſt the heaping up of ſo much Treaſure, as might impoveriſh the People: He thought that moderate Sum might be ſufficient for any Accident; if either the King had occaſion for it againſt Rebels, or the Kingdom againſt the Invaſion of an Enemy; but that it was not enough to encourage a Prince to invade other Mens Rights, a Circumſtance that was the chief Cauſe of his making that Law. He alſo thought, that it was a good Proviſion for that free Circulation of Money, ſo neceſſary for the Courſe of Commerce and Exchange: And when a King muſt diſtribute all thoſe extraordinary Acceſſions that increaſe Treaſure beyond the due Pitch, it makes him leſs diſpoſed to oppreſs his Subjects. Such a King as this, will be the Terror of ill Men, and will be beloved by all the good.

If,

If, I ſay, I ſhould talk of theſe or ſuch like Things, to Men that had taken their Biaſs another Way, how deaf would they be to all I could ſay? No Doubt, very deaf, anſwered I; and no Wonder, for one is never to offer at Propoſitions or Advice that we are certain will not be entertained. Diſcourſes ſo much out of the Road could not avail any Thing, nor have any Effect on Men, whoſe Minds were prepoſſeſſed with different Sentiments. This philoſophical Way of Speculation, is not unpleaſant among Friends in a free Converſation; but there is no Room for it in the Courts of Princes, where great Affairs are carried on by Authority. That is what I was ſaying, replied he, that there is no room for Philoſophy in the Courts of Princes. Yes, there is, ſaid I, but not for this ſpeculative Philoſophy, that makes every Thing to be alike fitting at all Times: But there is another Philoſophy that is more pliable, that knows its proper Scene, accommodates itſelf to it, and teaches a Man with Propriety and Decency to act that Part which has fallen to his Share. If when one of *Plautus*'s Comedies is upon the Stage, and a Company of Servants are acting their Parts, you ſhould come out in the Garb of a Philoſopher, and repeat out of *Octavia*, a Diſcourſe of *Seneca*'s to *Nero*, would it not be better for you to ſay nothing, than by mixing Things of ſuch different Natures, to make an impertinent Tragi-Comedy?

For you ſpoil and corrupt the Play that is in Hand, when you mix with it Things of an oppoſite Nature, even tho' they are much better. Therefore go through with the Play that is acting the beſt you can; and do not confound it, becauſe another that is pleaſanter comes into your Thoughts. It is even ſo in a Common-Wealth, and in the Councils of Princes; if ill Opinions cannot be quite rooted out, and you cannot cure ſome received Vice according to your Wiſhes, you muſt not therefore abandon the Common-wealth, for the ſame Reaſons as you ſhould not forſake the Ship in a Storm, becauſe you cannot command the Winds. You are not obliged to aſſault People with Diſcourſes that are out of their Road, when you ſee that their received Notions muſt prevent your making an Impreſſion upon them. You ought rather to caſt about, and to manage Things with all the Dexterity in your Power, ſo that if you are not able to make them go well, they may be as little ill as poſſible: For except all Men were good, every Thing cannot be right; and that is a Bleſſing that I do not at preſent hope to ſee. According to your Arguments, anſwered he, all that I could be able to do would be to preſerve myſelf from being mad while I endeavoured to cure the Madneſs of others: For if I ſpeak Truth, I muſt repeat what I have ſaid to you; and as for lying whether a Philoſopher can do it or not, I cannot tell; I am ſure

I cannot do it. But though these Discourses may be uneasy and ungrateful to them, I do not see why they should seem foolish or extravagant: Indeed if I should either propose such Things as *Plato* has contrived in his Common-Wealth, or as the *Utopians* practise in theirs, though they might seem better, as certainly they are, yet they are so different from our Establishment, which is founded on Property, there being no such Thing among them, that I could not expect that it would have any Effect on them: But such Discourses as mine, which only call past Evils to mind, and give Warning of what may follow, have nothing in them that is so absurd, that they may not be used at any Time; for they can only be unpleasant to those who are resolved to run headlong the contrary Way: And if we must let alone every Thing as absurd or extravagant, which by Reason of the wicked Lives of many, may seem uncouth, we must, even among Christians, give over pressing the greatest Part of those Things that Christ hath taught us: Though he has commanded us not to conceal them, but to proclaim on the House-tops that which he taught in secret. The greatest Parts of his Precepts are more opposite to the Lives of the Men of this Age, than any Part of my Discourse has been: But the Preachers seem to have learn'd that Craft to which you advise me; for they observing that the World would not willingly suit their Lives to the Rules that Christ has

has given, have fitted his Doctrine, as if it had been a leaden Rule, to their Lives; that ſo ſome Way or other they might agree with one another. But I ſee no other Effect of this Compliance, except it be that Men become more ſecure in their Wickedneſs by it. And this is all the Succeſs that I can have in a Court; for I muſt always differ from the reſt, and then I ſhall ſignify nothing; or if I agree with them I ſhall then only help forward their Madneſs. I do not comprehend what you mean by your caſting about, or by the bending and handling Things ſo dexterouſly, that if they go not well, they may go as little ill as may be: For in Courts they will not bear with a Man's holding his Peace, or conniving at what others do: A Man muſt bare-facedly approve of the worſt Councils, and conſent to the blackeſt Deſigns: So that he would paſs for a Spy, or poſſibly for a Traytor, that did but coldly approve of ſuch wicked Practices: And therefore when a Man is engaged in ſuch a Society, he will be ſo far from being able to mend Matters by his caſting about, as you call it, that he will find no Occaſions of doing any good: The ill Company will ſooner corrupt him, than be the better for him: Or if notwithſtanding all their ill Company, he ſtill remains ſteady and innocent, yet their Follies and Knavery will be imputed to him; and by mixing Councils with them, he muſt bear his Share of all the Blame that belongs wholly to others.

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It was no ill Simile, by which *Plato* ſet forth the Unreaſonableneſs of a Philoſopher's meddling with Government. If a Man, ſays he, was to ſee a great Company run out every Day into the Rain, and take delight in being wet; if he knew that it would be to no purpoſe for him to go and perſuade them to return to their Houſes, in order to avoid the Storm, and that all that could be expected by his going to ſpeak to them, would be that he himſelf ſhould be as wet as they, it would be beſt for him to keep within Doors; and ſince he had not Influence enough to correct other Peoples Folly, to take Care to preſerve himſelf.

Tho' to ſpeak plainly my real Sentiments, I muſt freely own, that as long as there is any Property, and while Money is the Standard of all other Things, I cannot think that a Nation can be governed either juſtly or happily: Not juſtly, becauſe the beſt Things will fall to the Share of the worſt Men: Nor happily, becauſe all things will be divided among a few, (and even theſe are not in all reſpects happy) the reſt being left to be abſolutely miſerable. Therefore when I reflect on the wiſe and good Conſtitution of the *Utopians*, among whom all Things are ſo well governed, and with ſo few Laws; where Virtue hath its due Reward, and yet there is ſuch an Equality, that every Man lives in Plenty. When I compare with them ſo many other Nations that are ſtill making new Laws, and yet can never bring their Conſtitution

ſtitution to a right Regulation, where notwithſtanding every one has his Property; yet all the Laws that they can invent have not the Power either to obtain or preſerve it, or even to enable Men certainly to diſtinguiſh what is their [illegible] from what is another's; of which the many Law-Suits that every Day break out, and are eternally depending, give too plain a Demonſtration: When, I ſay, I ballance all theſe Things in my Thoughts, I grow more favourable to *Plato*, and do not wonder that he reſolved, not to make any Laws for ſuch as would not ſubmit to a Community of all Things: For ſo wiſe a Man, could not but foreſee that the ſetting all upon a Level, was the only Way to make a Nation happy; which cannot be obtained ſo long as there is Property: For when every Man draws to himſelf all that he can compaſs, by one Title or another, it muſt needs follow, that how plentiful ſoever a Nation may be, yet a few dividing the Wealth of it among themſelves, the reſt muſt fall into Indigence. So that there will be two Sorts of People among them, who deſerve that their Fortunes ſhould be interchanged; the former uſeleſs, but wicked and ravenous; and the latter, who by their conſtant Induſtry ſerve the Publick more than themſelves, ſincere and modeſt Men. From whence I am perſuaded, that till Property is taken away, there can be no equitable or juſt Diſtribution of Things, nor can the World be happily governed:

governed: for as long as that is maintained, the greateſt and the far beſt Part of Mankind, will be ſtill oppreſſed with a Load of Cares and Anxties. I confeſs without taking it quite away, thoſe Preſſures that lie on a great Part of Mankind, may be made lighter; but they can never be quite removed. For if Laws were made to determine at how great an extent in Soil, and at how much Money every Man muſt ſtop, to limit the Prince that he might not grow too great, and to reſtrain the People that they might not become too inſolent, and that none might factiouſly aſpire to publick Employments; which ought neither to be ſold, nor made burthenſome by a great Expence; ſince otherwiſe thoſe that ſerve in them, would be tempted to reimburſe themſelves by Cheats and Violence, and it would become neceſſary to find out rich Men for undergoing thoſe Employments which ought rather to be truſted to the Wiſe. Theſe Laws, I ſay, might have ſuch Effects, as good Diet and Care might have on a ſick Man, whoſe Recovery is deſperate: They might allay and mitigate the Diſeaſe, but it could never be quite healed, nor the Body Politick be brought again to a good Habit, as long as Property remains; and it will fall out as in a Complication of Diſeaſes, that by applying a Remedy to one Sore, you will provoke another; and that which removes the one ill Symptom produces others, while the ſtrengthning

ning one Part of the Body weakens the reſt. On the contrary, anſwered I, it ſeems to me that Men cannot live conveniently, where all Things are common: How can there be any Plenty, where every Man will excuſe himſelf from Labour? For as the Hope of Gain doth not excite him, ſo the Confidence that he has in other Men's Induſtry, may make him ſlothful: If People come to be pinched with Want, and yet cannot diſpoſe of any Thing as their own; what can follow upon this, but perpetual Sedition and Bloodſhed, eſpecially when the Reverence and Authority due to Magiſtrates falls to the Ground? For I cannot imagine how that can be kept up among thoſe that are in all Things equal to one another. I do not wonder, ſaid he, that it appears ſo to you, ſince you have no Notion, or at leaſt no right one, of ſuch a Conſtitution: But if you had been in *Utopia* with me, and had ſeen their Laws and Rules, as I did, for the Space of five Years, in which I lived among them; and during which time I was ſo delighted with them, that indeed I ſhould never have left them, if it had not been to make the Diſcovery of that new World to the *Europeans*; you would then confeſs that you had never ſeen a People ſo well conſtituted as they. You will not eaſily perſuade me, ſaid *Peter*, that any Nation in that new World is better governed than thoſe among us. For as our Underſtandings are not worſe than theirs, ſo our Government,

vernment, if I mistake not, being more antient, a long Practice has helped us to find out many Conveniencies of Life: And some happy Chances have discovered other Things to us, which no Man's Understanding could ever have invented. As for the Antiquity, either of their Government, or of ours, said he, you cannot pass a true Judgment of it, unless you had read their Histories; for if they are to be believed, they had Towns among them, before these Parts were so much as inhabited: And as for those Discoveries, that have been either hit on by Chance, or made by ingenious Men, these might have happened there as well as here. I do not deny but we are more ingenious than they are, but they exceed us much in Industry and Application. They knew little concerning us, before our Arrival among them; they call us all by a general Name of the Nations that lie beyond the Equinoctial Line; for their Chronicle mentions a Shipwreck that was made on their Coast 1200 Years ago; and that some *Romans* and *Egyptians* that were in the Ship, getting safe ashore, spent the rest of their Days amongst them; and such was their Ingenuity, that from this single Opportunity, they drew the Advantage of Learning from those unlook'd for Guests, and acquired all the useful Arts that were then among the *Romans*, and which were known to these Shipwreck'd Men: And by the Hints that they gave them, they themselves found

out

out even ſome of thoſe Arts which they could not fully explain; ſo happily did they improve that Accident, of having ſome of our People caſt upon their Shore. But if ſuch an Accident has at any Time brought any from thence into *Europe*, we have been ſo far from improving it, that we do not ſo much as remember it; as in after Times perhaps it will be forgot by our People that I was ever there. For though they from one ſuch Accident, made themſelves Maſters of all the good Inventions that were among us; yet I believe it would be long before we ſhould learn or put in Practice any of the good Inſtitutions that are among them: And this is the true Cauſe of their being better governed, and living happier than we, though we come not ſhort of them in Point of Underſtanding, or outward Advantages. Upon this I ſaid to him, I earneſtly beg you would deſcribe that Iſland very particularly to us. Be not too ſhort, but ſet out in order all Things relating to their Soil, their Rivers, their Towns, their People, their Manners, Conſtitution, Laws, and in a Word, all that you imagine we deſire to know: And you may well imagine that we deſire to know every Thing concerning them, of which we are hitherto ignorant. I will do it very willingly, ſaid he, for I have digeſted the whole Matter carefully; but it will take up ſome Time. Let us go then, ſaid I, firſt and dine, and then we ſhall have Leiſure enough. He conſented.

We

We went in and dined, and after Dinner came back, and sat down in the same Place. I ordered my Servants to take Care that none might come and interrupt us: And both *Peter* and I desired *Raphael* to be as good as his Word: When he saw that we were very intent upon it, he paused a little to recollect himself, and began in this Manner.

The Second BOOK.

THE Island of *Utopia*, is in the Middle two hundred Miles broad, and holds almost at the same Breadth over a great Part of it; but it grows narrower towards both Ends. Its Figure is not unlike a Crescent: Between its Horns, the Sea comes in eleven Miles broad, and spreads itself into a great Bay, which is environed with Land to the Compass of about five Hundred Miles, and is well secured from Winds: In this Bay there is no great Current, the whole Coast is, as it were, one continued Harbour, which gives all that live in the Island great Convenience for mutual Commerce: But the Entry into the Bay, occasioned by Rocks on the one Hand, and Shallows on the other, is very dangerous. In the Middle of it there is one single Rock which appears above Water, and may therefore easily be avoided,

by Turns from the Cities to dwell in them; no Country Family has fewer than forty Men and Women in it, beſides two Slaves. There is a Maſter and a Miſtreſs ſet over every Family; and over thirty Families there is a Magiſtrate. Every Year twenty of this Family come back to the Town, after they have ſtayed two Years in the Country: And in their Room there are other twenty ſent from the Town, that they may learn country Work, from thoſe that have been already one Year in the Country, as they muſt teach thoſe that come to them the next from the Town. By this Means ſuch as dwell in thoſe country Farms, are never ignorant of Agriculture, and ſo commit no Errors, which might otherwiſe be fatal, and bring them under a Scarcity of Corn. But tho' there is every Year ſuch a ſhifting of the Huſbandmen, to prevent any Man being forced againſt his Will to follow that hard Courſe of Life too long; yet many among them take ſuch Pleaſure in it, that they deſire Leave to continue in it many Years. Theſe Huſbandmen till the Ground, breed Cattle, hew Wood, and convey it to the Towns, either by Land or Water, as is moſt convenient. They breed an infinite Multitude of Chickens in a very curious Manner: For the Hens do not ſit and hatch them; but vaſt Number of Eggs are laid in a gentle and equal Heat, in order to be hatched; and they are no ſooner out of the Sheil, and able to ſtir about, but they

they ſeem to conſider thoſe that feed them as their Mothers, and follow them as other Chickens do the Hen that hatched them. They breed very few Horſes, but thoſe they have, are full of Mettle, and are kept only for exerciſing their Youth in the Art of ſitting and riding them; for they do not put them to any Work, either of plowing or Carriage, in which they employ Oxen; for though their Horſes are ſtronger, yet they find Oxen can hold out longer; and as they are not ſubject to ſo many Diſeaſes, ſo they are kept upon a leſs Charge, and with leſs Trouble: And even when they are ſo worn out, that they are no more fit for Labour, they are good Meat at laſt. They ſow no Corn, but that which is to be their Bread; for they drink either Wine, Cyder or Perry, and often Water, ſometimes boiled with Honey or Liquoriſh, with which they abound; and tho' they know exactly how much Corn will ſerve every Town, and all that Tract of Country which belongs to it, yet they ſow much more, and breed more Cattle than are neceſſary for their Conſumption: And they give that Overplus of which they make no Uſe to their Neighbours. When they want any Thing in the Country which it does not produce, they fetch that from the Town, without carrying any Thing in Exchange for it: And the Magiſtrates of the Town take Care to ſee it given them: For they meet generally in the Town once a Month, upon a

Feſtival Day. When the Time of Harveſt comes, the Magiſtrates in the Country ſend to thoſe in the Towns, and let them know how many Hands they will need for reaping the Harveſt; and the Number they call for being ſent to them, they commonly diſpatch it all in one Day.

Of their Towns, particularly of Amaurot.

HE that knows one of their Towns, knows them all, they are ſo like one another, except where the Situation makes ſome difference. I ſhall therefore deſcribe one of them; and none is ſo proper as *Amaurot*: For as none is more eminent, all the reſt yielding in Precedence to this, becauſe it is the Seat of their ſupreme Council; ſo there was none of them better known to me, I having lived five Years altogether in it.

It lies upon the Side of a Hill, or rather a riſing Ground: Its Figure is almoſt Square, for from the one Side of it, which ſhoots up almoſt to the Top of the Hill, it runs down in a Deſcent for two Miles to the River *Anider*; but it is a little broader the other Way that runs along by the Bank of that River. The *Anider* riſes about eighty Miles above *Amaurot*, in a ſmall Spring at firſt; but other Brooks falling into it, of which two are more conſiderable than the reſt: As it runs by *Amaurot*, it is grown half a Mile broad, but

but it ſtill grows larger and larger, till after ſixty Miles Courſe below it, it is loſt in the Ocean. between the Town and the Sea, and for ſome Miles above the Town, it ebbs and flows every ſix Hours, with a ſtrong Current. The Tide comes up for about thirty Miles ſo full, that there is nothing but Salt-water in the River, the freſh Water being driven back with its Force; and above that, for ſome Miles, the Water is brackiſh, but a little higher, as it runs by the Town, it is quite freſh; and when the Tide ebbs, it continues freſh all along to the Sea. There is a Bridge caſt over the River, not of Timber, but of fair Stone, conſiſting of many ſtately Arches; it lies at that Part of the Town which is fartheſt from the Sea, ſo that Ships without any Hindrance lie all along the Side of the Town. There is likewiſe another River that runs by it, which though it is not great, yet it runs pleaſantly, for it riſes out of the ſame Hill on which the Town ſtands, and ſo runs down through it, and falls into the *Anider*. The Inhabitants have fortified the Fountain-head of this River, which ſprings a little without the Towns; that ſo if they ſhou'd happen to be beſieged, the Enemy might not be able to ſtop or divert the Courſe of the Water, nor poiſon it; from thence it is carried in earthen Pipes to the lower Streets: And for thoſe Places of the Town to which the Water of that ſmall River cannot be conveyed, they have great

Cifterns for receiving the Rain-water, which ſupplies the Want of the other. The Town is compaſſed with a high and thick Wall, in which there are many Towers and Forts; there is alſo a broad and deep dry Ditch, ſet thick with Thorns, caſt round three Sides of the Town, and the River is inſtead of a Ditch on the fourth Side. The Streets are very convenient for all Carriage, and are well ſheltered from the Winds. Their Buildings are good, and are ſo uniform, that a whole Side of a Street looks like one Houſe. The Streets are twenty Feet broad; there lie Gardens behind all their Houſes; theſe are large but enclоſed with Buildings, that on all Hands face the Streets; ſo that every Houſe has both a Door to the Street, and a back Door to the Garden: Their Doors have all two Leaves, which as they are eaſily opened, ſo they ſhut of their own Accord; and there being no Property among them, every Man may freely enter into any Houſe whatſoever. At every ten Years end they ſhift their Houſes by Lots. They cultivate their Gardens with great Care, ſo that they have both Vines, Fruits, Herbs and Flowers in them; and all is ſo well ordered, and ſo finely kept, that I never ſaw Gardens any where that were both ſo fruitful and ſo beautiful as theirs. And this Humour of ordering their Gardens ſo well, is not only kept up by the Pleaſure they find in it, but alſo by an Emulation between the Inhabitants of the ſeveral Streets,

Streets, who vie with each other; and there is indeed nothing belonging to the whole Town, that is both more uſeful, and more pleaſant. So that he who founded the Town, ſeems to have taken Care of nothing more than of their Gardens; for they ſay, the whole Scheme of the Town was deſigned at firſt by *Utopus*, but he left all that belonged to the Ornament and Improvement of it, to be added by thoſe that ſhould come after him, that being too much for one Man to bring to Perfection. Their Records, that contain the Hiſtory of their Town and State, are preſerved with an exact Care, and run backwards 1760 Years. From theſe it appears, that their Houſes were at firſt low and mean, like Cottages, made of any Sort of Timber, and were built with Mud Walls, and thatch'd with Straw: But now their Houſes are three Stories high, the Fronts of them are faced either with Stone, Plaiſtering, or Brick; and between the Facings of their Walls, they throw in their Rubbiſh; their Roofs are flat, and on them they lay a Sort of Plaiſter which coſts very little, and yet is ſo tempered, that it is not apt to take Fire, and yet reſiſts the Weather more than Lead. They have great Quantities of Glaſs among them, with which they glaze their Windows: They uſe alſo in their Windows, a thin linen Cloth, that is ſo oiled or gummed, that it both keeps out the Wind, and gives free Admiſſion to the Light.

avoided, and on the Top of it there is a Tower in which a Garriſon is kept, the other Rocks lie under Water, and are very dangerous. The Channel is known only to the Natives, ſo that if any Stranger ſhould enter into the Bay, without one of their Pilots, he would run great Danger of Shipwreck: For even they themſelves could not paſs it ſafe, if ſome Marks that are on the Coaſt did not direct their Way; and if theſe ſhould be but a little ſhifted, any Fleet that might come againſt them, how great ſoever it were, would be certainly loſt. On the other Side of the Iſland, there are likewiſe many Harbours; and the Coaſt is ſo fortified, both by Nature and Art, that a ſmall Number of Men can hinder the Deſcent of a great Army. But they report (and there remains good Marks of it to make it credible) that this was no Iſland at firſt, but a Part of the Continent. *Utopus* that conquered it (whoſe Name it ſtill carries, for *Abraxa* was its firſt Name) brought the rude and uncivilized Inhabitants into ſuch a good Government, and to that Meaſure of Politeneſs, that they now far excell all the reſt of Mankind; having ſoon ſubdued them, he deſigned to ſeparate them from the Continent, and to bring the Sea quite round them. To accompliſh this, he ordered a deep Channel to be dug fifteen Miles long; and that the Natives might not think he treated them like Slaves, he not only forced the Inhabitants, but alſo his own Soldiers,

Soldiers, to labour in carrying it on. As he ſet a vaſt Number of Men to work, he beyond all Mens Expectations brought it to a ſpeedy Concluſion. And his Neighbours who at firſt laughed at the Folly of the Undertaking, no ſooner ſaw it brought to Perfection, than they were ſtruck with Admiration and Terror.

There are fifty-four Cities in the Iſland, all large and well built: The Manners, Cuſtoms, and Laws of which are the ſame, and they are all contrived as near in the ſame Manner as the Ground on which they ſtand will allow: The neareſt lie at leaſt twenty-four Miles Diſtance from one another, and the moſt remote are not ſo far diſtant, but that a Man can go on Foot in one Day from it, to that which lies next it. Every City ſends three of their wiſeſt Senators once a Year to *Amaurot*, to conſult about their common Concerns; for that is chief Town of the Iſland, being ſituated near the Center of it, ſo that it is the moſt convenient Place for their Aſſemblies. The Juriſdiction of every City extends at leaſt twenty Miles: And where the Towns lie wider, they have much more Ground: No Town deſires to enlarge its Bounds, for the People conſider themſelves rather as Tenants than Landlords. They have built over all the Country, Farm-Houſes for Huſbandmen, which are well contrived, and are furniſhed with all Things neceſſary for Country Labour. Inhabitants are ſent by

Of their Magiſtrates.

THIRTY Families chooſe every Year a Magiſtrate, who was anciently called the *Syphogrant*, but is now called the *Philarch*: and over every ten *Syphogrants* with the Families ſubject to them, there is another Magiſtrate, who was anciently called the *Tranibore*, but of late the *Archphilarch*. All the Syphogrants, who are in Number 200, chooſe the Prince out of a Liſt of four, who are named by the People of the four Diviſions of the City, but they take an Oath before they proceed to an Election, that they will chooſe him whom they think moſt fit for the Office: They give their Voices ſecretly, ſo that it is not known for whom every One gives his Suffrage. The Prince is for Life, unleſs he is removed upon ſuſpicion of ſome Deſign to enſlave the People. The *Tranibors* are new choſen every Year, but yet they are for the moſt Part continued: All their other Magiſtrates are only annual. The *Tranibors* meet every third Day, and oftner if neceſſary, and conſult with the Prince, either concerning the Affairs of the State in General, or ſuch private Differences as may ariſe ſometimes among the People; tho' that falls out but ſeldom. There are always two *Syphogrants* called into the Council-Chamber, and theſe are changed every Day. It is a fundamental

tal Rule of their Government, that no Conclusion can be made in any Thing that relates to the Publick, till it has been first debated three several Days in their Council. It is Death for any to meet and consult concerning the State, unless it be either in their ordinary Council, or in the Assembly of the whole Body of the People.

These Things have been so provided among them, that the Prince and the *Tranibors* may not conspire together to change the Government, and enslave the People; and therefore when any Thing of great Importance is set on Foot, it is sent to the *Syphogrants*; who after they have communicated it to the Families that belong to their Divisions, and have considered it among themselves, make Report to the Senate; and upon great Occasions, the Matter is referred to the Council of the whole Island. One Rule observed in their Council, is, never to debate a Thing on the same Day in which it is first proposed; for that is always referred to the next Meeting, that so men may not rashly, and in the Heat of Discourse, engage themselves too soon, which might biass them so much, that instead of consulting the Good of the Publick, they might rather study to support their first Opinions; and by a perverse and preposterous Sort of Shame, hazard their Country, rather than endanger their own Reputation, or venture the being suspected to have wanted Foresight in the Expedients that they at first proposed.

And therefore to prevent this, they take Care that they may rather be deliberate, than ſudden in their Motions.

Of their Trades, and Manner of Life.

AGriculture is that which is ſo univerſally underſtood among them, that no Perſon either Man or Woman, is ignorant of it; they are inſtructed in it from their Childhood, partly by what they learn at School, and partly by Practice; they being led out often into the Fields, about the Town, where they not only ſee others at Work, but are likewiſe exerciſed in it themſelves. Beſides Agriculture, which is ſo common to them all, every Man has ſome peculiar Trade to which he applies himſelf, ſuch as the Manufacture of Wool, or Flax, Maſonry, Smith's Work, or Carpenter's Work; for there is no Sort of Trade that is in great Eſteem among them. Throughout the Iſland they wear the ſame Sort of Clothes without any other Diſtinction, except what is neceſſary to diſtinguiſh the two Sexes, and the married and unmarried. The Faſhion never alters; and as it is neither diſagreeable nor uneaſy, ſo it is ſuited to the Climate, and calculated both for their Summers and Winters. Every Family makes their own Clothes; but all among them, Women as well Men, learn one or other of the Trades formerly mentioned.

mentioned. Women, for the moſt Part, deal in Wood and Flax, which ſuit beſt with their Weakneſs, leaving the ruder Trades to the Men. The ſame Trade generally paſſes down from Father to Son, Inclinations often following Deſcent: But if any Man's Genius lies another Way, he is by Adoption tranſlated into a Family that deals in the Trade to which he is inclined: And when that is to be done, Care is taken not only by his Father, but by the Magiſtrate, that he may be put to a diſcreet and good Man. And if after a Perſon has learned one Trade, he deſires to acquire another, that is alſo allowed, and is managed in the ſame manner as the former. When he has learn'd both, he follows that which he likes beſt, unleſs the Public has more Occaſion for the other.

The chief, and almoſt the only Buſineſs of the *Syphogrants*, is to take Care that no Man may live idle, but that every may follow his Trade diligently: Yet they do not wear themſelves out with perpetual Toil, from Morning to Night, as if they were Beaſts of Burden, which as it is indeed a heavy Slavery, ſo it is every where the common Courſe of Life amongſt all Mechanics except the *Utopians*: But they dividing the Day and Night into twenty-four Hours, appoint ſix of theſe for Work; three of which are before Dinner; and three after: They then ſup, and at eight o'Clock, counting from Noon, go to Bed and ſleep eight

Hours. The reſt of their Time beſides that taken up in Work, eating and ſleeping is left to every Man's Diſcretion; yet they are not to abuſe that Interval to Luxury and Idleneſs, but muſt employ it in ſome proper Exerciſe according to their various Inclinations, which is for the moſt Part reading. It is ordinary to have publick Lectures every Morning before Day-break; at which none are obliged to appear, but thoſe who are mark'd out for Literature; yet a great many, both Men and Women of all Ranks, go to hear Lectures of one Sort or other, according to their Inclinations. But if others, that are not made for Contemplation, chooſe rather to employ themſelves at that Time in their Trades, as many of them do, they are not hindered, but are rather commended, as Men that take Care to ſerve their Country. After Supper, they ſpend an Hour in ſome Diverſion, in Summer in their Gardens, and in Winter in the Halls where they eat; where they entertain each other, either with Muſick or Diſcourſe. They do not ſo much as know Dice, or any ſuch fooliſh and miſchievous Games: They have, however, two Sorts of Games not unlike our Cheſs; the one is between ſeveral Numbers, in which one Number, as it were conſumes another: The other reſembles a Battle between the Virtues and the Vices, in which the Enmity in the Vices among themſelves, and their Agreement againſt Virtue is not unpleaſantly repreſented;

gd; together with the special Oppositions between the particular Virtues and Vices; as also the Methods by which Vice either openly assaults, or secretly undermines Virtue; and Virtue on the other Hand resists it. But the Time appointed for Labour, is to be narrowly examined, otherwise you may imagine, that since there are only six Hours appointed for Work, they may fall under a Scarcity of necessary Provisions. But it is so far from being true, that this Time is not sufficient for supplying them with Plenty of all Things, either necessary or convenient; that it is rather too much; and this you will easily apprehend, if you consider how great a Part of all other Nations is quite idle. First, Women generally do little, who are the half of Mankind; and if some few Women are diligent, their Husbands are idle: Then consider the great Company of idle Priests, and of those that are called religious Men; add to these all rich Men, chiefly those that have Estates in Land, who are called Noblemen and Gentlemen, together with their Families, made up of idle Persons, that are kept more for shew than use. Add to these, all those strong and lusty Beggars, that go about pretending some Disease, in Excuse for their Begging; and upon the whole Account you will find, that the Number of those by whose Labours Mankind is supplied, is much less than you perhaps imagined: Then consider how few of those that work, are employed in Labours that are of real Service:

Service: For we who measure all Things by Money, give rise to many Trades that are both vain and superfluous, and serve only to support Riot and Luxury. For if those who work, were employed only in such Things as the Conveniencies of Life require, there would be such an Abundance of them, that the Prices of them would so sink, that Tradesmen could not be maintained by their Gains; if all those who labour about useless Things, were set to more profitable Employments; and if all they that languish out their Lives in Sloth and Idleness, every one of whom consumes as much as any two of the Men that are at Work, were forced to labour, you may easily imagine that a small Proportion of Time would serve for doing all that is either necessary, profitable, or pleasant to Mankind, especially while Pleasure is kept within its due Bounds: This appears very plainly in *Utopia*, for there, in a great City, and in all the Territory that lies round it, you can scarce find five hundred, either Men or Women, by their Age and Strength, are capable of Labour, that are not engaged in it; even the *Syphogrants* though excused by the Law, yet do not excuse themselves, but work, that by their Examples they may excite the Industry of the rest of the People; the like Exemption is allowed to those, who being recommended to the People by the Priests, are by the secret Suffrages of the *Syphogrants*, privileged from Labour, that they may apply

apply themſelves wholly to Study; and if any of theſe fall ſhort of thoſe Hopes that they ſeemed at firſt to give, they are obliged to return to Work. And ſometimes a Mechanick, that ſo employs his Leiſure Hours, as to make a conſiderable Advancement in Learning, is eaſed from being a Tradeſman, and ranked among their learned Men. Out of theſe they chooſe their Ambaſſadors, their Prieſts, their *Tranibors*, and the Prince himſelf; ciently called their *Barzanes*, but is called of late their *Ademus*.

And thus from the great Numbers among them, that are neither ſuffered to be idle, nor to be imployed in any fruitleſs Labour; you may eaſily make the Eſtimate, how much may be done in thoſe few Hours in which they are obliged to labour. But beſides all that has been already ſaid, it is to be conſidered, that the needful Arts among them, are managed with leſs Labour than any where elſe. The Building, or the repairing of Houſes among us, employ many Hands, becauſe often a thriftleſs Heir ſuffers a Houſe that his Father built, to fall into Decay, ſo that his Succeſſor muſt, at a great coſt, repair that which he might have kept up with a ſmall Charge: It frequently happens, that the ſame Houſe which one Perſon built at a vaſt Expence, is neglected by another, who thinks he has a more delicate ſenſe of the Beauties of Architecture; and he ſuffering it to fall to ruin, builds

builds another at no leſs Charge. But among the *Utopians*, all Things are ſo regulated, that Men very ſeldom build upon a new Piece of Ground; and are not only very quick in repairing their Houſes, but ſhew their Foreſight in preventing their Decay: So that their Buildings are preſerved very long, with but little Labour; And thus the Builders to whom that Care belongs, are often without Imployment, except the hewing of Timber, and the ſquaring of Stones, that the Materials may be in Readineſs for raiſing a Building very ſuddenly, when there is any Occaſion for it. As to their Cloaths, obſerve how little Work is ſpent in them: While they are at Labour, they are cloathed with Leather and Skins, caſt careleſly about them, which will laſt ſeven Years: and when they appear in publick, they put on an upper Garment, which hides the other: And theſe are all of one Colour, and that is the natural Colour of the Wool. As they need leſs woollen Cloth than is uſed any where elſe, ſo that which they make uſe of is much leſs coſtly. They uſe Linen Cloth more; but that is prepared with leſs Labour, and they value Cloth only by the Whiteneſs of the Linen, or the Cleanneſs of the Wool, without much Regard to the Fineneſs of the Thread: While in other Places, four or five upper Garments of woollen Cloth, of different Colours, and as many Veſts of Silk will ſcarce ſerve one Man; and while thoſe

thoſe that are nicer think ten too few; every Man there is content with one, which very often ſerves him two Years. Nor is there any Thing that can tempt a Man to deſire more; for if he had them, he would neither be the warmer, nor would he make one Jot the better Appearance for it. And thus, ſince they are all imployed in ſome uſeful Labour; and ſince they content themſelves with fewer Things, it falls out that there is a great Abundance of all Things among them: So that it frequently happens, that for want of other Work, vaſt Numbers are ſent out to mend the Highways. But when no publick Undertaking is to be performed, the Hours of working are leſſened. The Magiſtrates never engage the People in unneceſſary Labour, ſince the chief End of the Conſtitution is to regulate Labour by the Neceſſities of the Publick, and to allow all the People as much Time as is neceſſary for the Improvement of their Minds, in which, they think the Happineſs of Life conſiſts.

Of their Traffick.

BUT it is now Time to explain to you the mutual intercourſe of this People, their Commerce, and the Rules by which all Things are diſtributed among them.

As their Cities are compoſed of Families, ſo their Families are made up of thoſe that are nearly related to one another. Their Women, when they grow up, are married out; but all the Males, both Children and Grandchildren, live ſtill in the ſame Houſe, in great Obedience to their common Parent, unleſs Age has weakened his Underſtanding; and in that Caſe he that is next to him in Age, comes in his Room. But leſt any City ſhould become either too great, or by any Accident be diſpeopled, proviſion is made that none of their Cities may contain above ſix thouſand Families, beſides thoſe of the Country round it. No Family may have leſs than ten, and more than ſixteen Perſons in it; but there can be no determined Number for the Children under Age: This Rule is eaſily obſerved, by removing ſome of the Children of a more fruitful Couple, to any other Family that does not abound ſo much in them. By the ſame Rule, they ſupply Cities that do not encreaſe ſo faſt, from others that breed faſter: And if there is any increaſe over the whole Iſland, then they draw out a Number of their Citizens out of the ſeveral Towns, and ſend them over to the neighbouring Continent; where, if they find that the Inhabitants have more Soil than they can well cultivate, they fix a Colony, taking the Inhabitants into their Society, if they are willing to live with them; and where they do that of their own accord, they quickly enter into their Method

Method of Life, and conform to their Rules, and this proves a Happineſs to both Nations: For according to their Conſtitution, ſuch Care is taken of the Soil, that it becomes fruitful enough for both, tho' it might be otherwiſe too narrow and barren for any one of them. But if the Natives refuſe to conform themſelves to ther Laws, they drive them out of thoſe Bounds which they mark out for themſelves, and uſe Force if they reſiſt. For they account it a very juſt Cauſe of War, for a Nation to hinder others from poſſeſſing a Part of that Soil, of which they make no Uſe, but which is ſuffered to lie idle and uncultivated; ſince every Man has by the Law of Nature a Right to ſuch a waſte Portion of the Earth, as is neceſſary for his Subſiſtence. If an Accident has ſo leſſened the Number of the Inhabitants of any of their Towns, that it cannot be made up from the other Towns of the Iſland, without diminiſhing them too much, which is ſaid to have fallen out but twice, ſince they were firſt a People, when great Numbers were carried off by the Plague; the Loſs is then ſupplied by recalling as many as are wanted from their Colonies; for they will abandon theſe, rather than ſuffer the Towns in the Iſland to ſink too low.

But to return to their Manner of living in Society, the oldeſt Man of every Family, as has been already ſaid, is its Governor. Wives ſerve their Huſbands, and Children their Parents, and always

always the Younger ſerves the Elder. Every City is divided into four equal Parts, and in the Middle of each there is a Market-place: What is brought thither, and manufactured by the ſeveral Families, is carried from thence to Houſes appointed for that Purpoſe, in which all Things of a Sort are laid by themſelves; and thither every Father goes and takes whatſoever he or his Family ſtand in need of, without either paying for it, or leaving any Thing in Exchange. There is no Reaſon for giving a denial to any Perſon, ſince there is ſuch Plenty of every Thing among them: And there is no Danger of a Man's aſking for more than he needs; they have no Inducements to do this, ſince they are ſure that they ſhall always be ſupplied: It is the Fear of Want that makes any of the whole Race of Animals, either greedy or ravenous; but beſides Fear, there is in Man a Pride that makes him fancy it a particular Glory to excel others in Pomp and Exceſs. But by the Laws of the *Utopians*, there is no Room for this. Near theſe Markets there are others for all Sorts of Proviſions, where there are not only Herbs, Fruits, and Bread, but alſo Fiſh, Fowl, and Cattle. There are alſo without their Towns, Places appointed near ſome running Water, for killing their Beaſts, and for waſhing away their Filth; which is done by their Slaves: for they ſuffer none of their Citizens to kill their Cattle, becauſe they think, that Pity and good Nature, which

which are among the beſt of thoſe Affections that are born with us, are much impaired by the butchering of Animals: Nor do they ſuffer any thing that is foul or unclean to be brought within their Towns, leſt the Air ſhould be infected by ill Smells which might prejudice their Health. In every Street there are great Halls that lie at an equal Diſtance from each other, diſtinguiſhed by particular Names. The *Syphegrants* dwell in thoſe, that are ſet over thirty Families, fifteen lying on one Side of it, and as many on the other. In theſe Halls they all meet and have their Repaſts. The Stewards of every one of them come to the Market-place at an appointed Hour; and according to the Number of thoſe that belong to the Hall, they carry home Proviſions. But they take more Care of their Sick, than of any others: Theſe are lodg'd and provided for in publick Hoſpitals: They have belonging to every Town four Hoſpitals, that are built without their Walls, and are ſo large, that they may paſs for little Towns: By this Means, if they had ever ſuch a Number of ſick Perſons, they could lodge them conveniently, and at ſuch a Diſtance, that ſuch of them as are ſick of infectious Diſeaſes, may be kept ſo far from the reſt, that there can be no Danger of Contagion. The Hoſpitals are furniſhed and ſtored with all Things that are convenient for the Eaſe and Recovery of the Sick; and thoſe that are put in them, are looked after with ſuch tender

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der and watchful Care, and are ſo conſtantly attended by their ſkilful Phyſicians; that as none is ſent to them againſt their Will, ſo there is ſcarce one in a whole Town, that if he ſhould fall ill, would not chooſe rather to go thither, than lie ſick at Home.

After the Steward of the Hoſpitals has taken for the Sick whatſoever the Phyſician preſcribes, then the beſt Things that are left in the Market are diſtributed equally among the Halls, in proportion to their Numbers, only, in the firſt Place, they ſerve the Prince, the Chief Prieſt, the *Tranibors*, the Ambaſſadors, and Strangers, if there are any, which indeed falls out but ſeldom, and for whom there are Houſes well furniſhed, particularly appointed for their Reception when they come among them. At the Hours of Dinner and Supper, the whole Syphogranty being called together by Sound of Trumpet, they meet and eat together, except only ſuch as are in the Hoſpitals, or lie ſick at Home. Yet after the Halls are ſerved, no Man is hindred to carry Proviſions Home from the Market-place; for they know that none does that but for ſome good Reaſon; for tho' any that will may eat at Home, yet none does it willingly, ſince it is both ridiculous and fooliſh for any to give themſelves the Trouble to make ready an ill Dinner at Home, when there is a much more plentiful one made ready for him ſo near hand. All the

uneaſy

uneasy and sordid Services about these Halls, are performed by their Slaves; but the dressing and cooking their Meat, and the ordering their Tables, belong only to the Women, all those of every Family taking it by Turns. They sit at three or more Tables, according to their Number; the Men sit towards the Wall, and the Women sit on the other Side, that if any of them should be taken suddenly ill, which is no uncommon Case amongst Women with Child, she may, without disturbing the rest, rise and go to the Nurse's Room, who are there with the sucking Children; where there is always clean Water at hand, and Cradles in which they may lay the young Children, if there is occasion for it, and a Fire that they may shift and dress them before it. Every Child is nursed by its own Mother, if Death or Sickness does not intervene; and in that case the *Syphogrants* Wives find out a Nurse quickly, which is no hard matter; for any one that can do it, offers her self chearfully: For as they are much inclined to that Piece of Mercy, so the Child whom they nurse, considers the Nurse as its Mother. All the Children under five Years old, sit among the Nurses, the rest of the younger Sort of both Sexes, till they are fit for Marriage, either serve those that sit at Table; or if they are not strong enough for that, stand by them in great Silence, and eat what is given them; nor have they any other Formality

of

of dining. In the middle of the firſt Table, which ſtands acroſs the upper End of the Hall, ſit the *Syphogrant* and his Wife; for that is the chief and moſt conſpicuous Place: Next to him ſit two of the moſt ancient, for there go always four to a Meſs. If there is a Temple within that Syphogranty, the Prieſt and his Wife ſit with the *Syphogrant* above all the reſt: Next them there is a Mixture of Old and Young, who are ſo placed, that as the Young are ſet near others, ſo they are mixed with the more ancient; which they ſay was appointed on this Account, that the Gravity of the old People, and the Reverence that is due to them, might reſtrain the Younger from all indecent Words and Geſtures. Diſhes are not ſerved up to the whole Table at firſt, but the beſt are firſt ſet before the Old, whoſe Seats are diſtinguiſhed from the Young, and after them all the reſt are ſerved alike. The old Men diſtribute to the younger any curious Meats that happen to be ſet before them, if there is not ſuch an Abundance of them that the whole Company may be ſerved alike.

Thus old Men are honoured with a particular Reſpect; yet all the reſt fare as well as they. Both Dinner and Supper are begun with ſome Lecture of Morality that is read to them; but it is ſo ſhort, that it is not tedious nor uneaſy to them to hear it: From hence the old Men take occaſion to entertain thoſe about them, with

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ſome uſeful and pleaſant Enlargements; but they do not engroſs the whole Diſcourſe ſo to themſelves, during their Meals, that the Younger may not put in for a Share: On the contrary, they engage them to talk, that ſo they may in that free Way of Converſation, find out the Force of every one's Spirit, and obſerve his Temper. They diſpatch their Dinners quickly, but ſit long at Supper: becauſe they go to work after the one, and are to ſleep after the other, during which they think the Stomach carries on the Concoction more vigorouſly. They never ſup without Muſick; and there is always Fruit ſerved up after Meat; while they are at Table, ſome burn Perfumes, and ſprinkle about fragrant Ointments, and ſweet Waters: In ſhort they want nothing that may chear up their Spirits: They give themſelves a large Allowance that Way, and indulge themſelves in all ſuch Pleaſures as are attended with no Inconvenience. Thus do thoſe that are in the Towns live together; but in the Country, where they live at great Diſtance, every one eats at home, and no Family wants any neceſſary Sort of Proviſion, for it is from them that Proviſions are ſent unto thoſe that live in the Towns.

Of

Of the Travelling of the UTOPIANS.

IF any Man has a mind to viſit his Friends that live in ſome other Town, or deſires to travel and ſee the reſt of the Country, he obtains Leave very eaſily from the *Syphogrant* and *Tranibors*, when there is no particular Occaſion for him at home: Such as travel, carry with them a Paſſport from the Prince, which both certifies the Licence that is granted for travelling, and limits the Time of their return. They are furniſhed with a Waggon and a Slave, who drives the Oxen, and looks after them: But unleſs there are Women in the Company, the Waggon is ſent back at the End of the Journey as an needleſs Incumbrance: While they are on the Road, they carry no Proviſions with them; yet they want nothing, but are every where treated as if they were at Home. If they ſtay in any Place longer than a Night, every one follows his proper Occupation, and is very well uſed by thoſe of his own Trade: But if any Man goes out of the City to which he belongs, without Leave, and is found rambling without a Paſſport, he is ſeverely treated, he is puniſhed as a Fugitive, and ſent home diſgracefully; and if he falls again into the like Fault, is condemned to Slavery. If any Man has a mind to travel only over the Precinct of his own City, he may freely

freely do it, with his Father's Permiſſion, and his Wife's Conſent; but when he comes into any of the Country Houſes, if he expects to be entertain'd by them, he muſt labour with them and conform to their Rules: And if he does this, he may freely go over the whole Precinct; being thus as uſeful to the City to which he belongs, as if he were ſtill within it. Thus you ſee that there are no idle Perſons among them, nor Pretences of excuſing any from Labour. There are no Taverns, no Ale-Houſes nor Stews among them; nor any other Occaſions of corrupting each other, of getting into Corners, or forming themſelves into Parties: All Men live in full View, ſo that all are obliged, both to perform their ordinary Taſk, and to employ themſelves well in their ſpare Hours. And it is certain, that a People thus ordered, muſt live in great Abundance of all Things; and theſe being equally diſtributed among them, no Man can want, or be obliged to beg.

In their great Council at *Amaurot*, to which there are three ſent from every Town once a Year, they examine what Towns abound in Proviſions, and what are under any Scarcity, that ſo the one may be furniſhed from the other; and this is done freely, without any Sort of Exchange; for according to their Plenty or Scarcity, they ſupply, or are ſupplied from one another; ſo that indeed the whole Iſland is, as it were, one Family.

When they have thus taken Care of their whole Country, and laid up Stores for two Years, which they do to prevent the ill Conſequences of an unfavourable Seaſon, they order an Exportation of the Overplus, both of Corn, Honey, Wooll, Flax, Wood, Wax, Tallow, Leather, and Cattle; which they ſend out commonly in great Quantities to other Nations. They order a ſeventh Part of all theſe Goods to be freely given to the Poor of the Countries to which they ſend them, and ſell the reſt at moderate Rates. And by this Exchange, they not only bring back thoſe few Things that they need at Home (for indeed they ſcarce need any Thing but Iron) but likewiſe a great deal of Gold and Silver; and by their driving this Trade ſo long, it is not to be imagined how vaſt a Treaſure they have got among them: So that now they do not much care whether they ſell off their Merchandize for Money in Hand, or upon Truſt. A great Part of their Treaſure is now in Bonds; but in all their Contracts no private Man ſtands bound, but the Writing runs in the Name of the Town; and the Towns that owe them Money, raiſe it from thoſe private Hands that owe it to them, lay it up in their publick Chamber, or enjoy the Profit of it till the *Utopians* call for it; and they chooſe rather to let the greateſt part of it lie in their Hands, who make Advantage by it, than to call for it themſelves: But if they ſee that any of their other Neighbours

Neighbours ſtand more in need of it, then they call it in and lend it to them: Whenever they are engaged in War, which is the only Occaſion in which their Treaſure can be uſefully employ'd, they make uſe of it themſelves. In great Extremities or ſudden Accidents they employ it in hiring foreign Troops, whom they more willingly expoſe to danger than their own People: They give them great Pay, knowing well that this will work even on their Enemies, that it will engage them either to betray their own Side, or at leaſt to deſert it, and that it is the beſt Means of raiſing mutual Jealouſies among them: For this End they have an incredible Treaſure; but they do not keep it as a Treaſure, but in ſuch a Manner as I am almoſt afraid to tell, leſt you think it ſo extravagant, as to be hardly credible. This I have the more Reaſon to apprehend, becauſe if I had not ſeen it myſelf, I could not have been eaſily perſuaded to have believed it upon any Man's Report.

It is certain that all Things appear incredible to us, in Proportion as they differ from own Cuſtoms. But one who can judge aright, will not wonder to find, that ſince their Conſtitution differs ſo much from ours, their Value of Gold and Silver ſhould be meaſured by a very different Standard; for ſince they have no uſe for Money among themſelves, but keep it as a Proviſion againſt Events which ſeldom happen, and between which there

are generally long intervening Intervals; they value it no farther than it deserves, that is, in Proportion to its use. So that it is plain, they must prefer Iron either to Gold or Silver: For Men can no more live without Iron, than without Fire or Water; but Nature has mark'd out no Use for the other Metals, so essential as not easily to be dispensed with. The Folly of Men has enhanced the Value of Gold and Silver, because of their Scarcity. Whereas on the contrary, it is their Opinion, that Nature, as an indulgent Parent, has freely given us all the best Things in great Abundance, such as Water and Earth, but has laid up and hid from us the Things that are vain and useless.

If these Metals were laid up in any Tower in the Kingdom, it would raise a Jealousy of the Prince and Senate, and give Birth to that foolish Mistrust into which the People are apt to fall, a Jealousy of their intending to sacrifice the Interest of the Publick to their own private Advantage. If they should work it into Vessels, or any Sort of Plate, they fear that the People might grow too fond of it, and so be unwilling to let the Plate be run down, if a War made it necessary to employ it in paying their Soldiers. To prevent all these Inconveniencies, they have fallen upon an Expedient, which as it agrees with their other Policy, so is it very different from ours, and will scarce gain Belief among us, who value Gold so much, and lay it up

up so carefully. They eat and drink out of Vessels of Earth, or Glass, which make an agreeable Appearance tho' formed of brittle Materials: while they make their Chamber-pots and Close-stools of Gold and Silver; and that not only in their publick Halls, but in their private Houses: Of the same Metals they likewise make Chains and Fetters for their Slaves; to some of which, as a Badge of Infamy, they hang an Ear-ring of Gold, and make others wear a Chain or a Coronet of the same Metal; and thus they take Care by all possible Means, to render Gold and Silver of no esteem: And from hence it is, that while other Nations part with their Gold and Silver, as unwillingly as if one tore out their Bowels, those of *Utopia* would look on their giving in all they possess of those (Metals, when there were any Use for them) but as the parting with a Trifle, or as we would esteem the Loss of a Penny. They find Pearls on their Coast; and Diamonds, and Carbuncles on their Rocks: They do not look after them; but if they find them by Chance, they polish them, and with them they adorn their Children, who are delighted with them, and glory in them during their Childhood; but when they grow to Years, and see that none but Children use such Baubles, they of their own accord, without being bid by their Parents, lay them aside, and would be as much ashamed to use them afterwards, as Children among us, when

they come to Years, are of their Puppets, and other Toys.

I never saw a clearer Instance of the opposite Impressions that different Customs make on People, than I observed in the Ambassadors of the *Anemolians*, who came to *Amaurot* when I was there: As they came to treat of Affairs of great Consequence, the Deputies from several Towns met together to wait for their Coming. The Ambassadors of the Nations that lie near *Utopia*, knowing their Customs, and that fine Cloaths are in no Esteem among them, that Silk is despised, and Gold is a Badge of Infamy, used to come very modestly cloathed; but the *Anemolians* lying more remote, and having had little Commerce with them, understanding that they were coarsly cloathed, and all in the same Manner, took it for granted that they had none of those fine Things among them of which they made no use; and they being a vain-glorious, rather than a wise People, resolved to set themselves out with so much Pomp, that they should look like Gods, and strike the Eyes of the poor *Utopians* with their Splendour. Thus three Ambassadors made their Entry with an hundred Attendants, all clad in Garments of different Colours, and the greater Part in Silk; the Ambassadors themselves, who were of the Nobility of their Country, were in Cloth of Gold, and adorned with massy Chains, Ear-rings and Rings of Gold: Their Caps were

covered

covered with Bracelets ſet full of Pearls and other Gems: In a Word, they were ſet out with all thoſe Things, that, among the *Utopians*, were either the Badges of Slavery, the Marks of Infamy, or the Play-things of Children. It was not unpleaſant to ſee, on the one Side, how they look'd big, when they compared their rich Habits with the plain Cloaths of the *Utopians*, who were come out in great Numbers to ſee them make their Entry: And on the other, to obſerve how much they were miſtaken in the Impreſſion, which they hoped this Pomp would have made on them! It appeared ſo ridiculous a Shew to all that had never ſtirred out of their Country, and had not ſeen the Cuſtoms of other Nations; that though they paid ſome Reverence to thoſe that were the moſt meanly clad, as if they had been the Ambaſſadors, yet when they ſaw the Ambaſſadors themſelves, ſo full of Gold and Chains, they look-ed upon them as ſlaves, and forbore to treat them with Reverence. You might have ſeen the Children, who were grown big enough to deſpiſe their Play-Things, and who had thrown away their Jewels, call to their Mothers, puſh them gently, and cry out, "See that great Fool that wears Pearls and Gems, as if he were yet a Child." While their Mothers very innocently replied, "Hold your Peace, this I believe is one of the Ambaſſador's Fools." Others cenſured the Faſhion of their Chains, and obſerved that they were of no uſe;

for they were too ſlight to bind their Slaves, who could eaſily break them; and beſides hung ſo looſe about them, that they thought it eaſy to throw them away, and ſo get from them. But after the Ambaſſadors had ſtaid a Day among them, and ſaw ſo vaſt a Quantity of Gold in their Houſes, which was as much deſpiſed by them, as it was eſteemed in other Nations, and beheld more Gold and Silver in the Chains and Fetters of one Slave, than all their Ornaments amounted to, their Plumes fell, and they were aſhamed of all that Glory for which they had formerly valued themſelves, and accordingly laid it aſide: A Reſolution that they immediately took, when on their engaging in ſome free Diſcourſe with the *Utopians*, they diſcovered their Senſe of ſuch Things, and their other Cuſtoms. The *Utopians* wonder how any Man ſhould be ſo much taken with the glaring doubtful Luſtre of a Jewel or a Stone, that can look up to a Star, or to the Sun himſelf; or how any ſhould value himſelf, becauſe his Cloth is made of a finer Thread: For how fine ſoever that Thread may be, it was once no better than the Fleece of a Sheep, and that [illegible] Sheep ſtill for all its wearing it. They wonder much to hear, that Gold which in [illegible] ſo uſeleſs a Thing, ſhould be every where ſo much eſteemed, that even Men for whom it was made, and by whom it has its Value, ſhould yet be thought of leſs Value than this Metal: That a Man

a Man of Lead, who has no more Senſe than a Log of Wood, and is as bad as he is fooliſh, ſhould have many wiſe and good Men to ſerve him, only becauſe he has a great Heap of that Metal; and that if it ſhould happen, that by ſome Accident, or Trick of Law, (which ſometimes produces as great Changes as Chance itſelf) all this Wealth ſhould paſs from the Maſter to the meaneſt Varlet of his whole Family, he himſelf would very ſoon become one of his Servants, as if he were a Thing that belonged to his Wealth, and ſo were bound to follow its Fortune. But they much more admire and deteſt the Folly of thoſe who when they ſee a rich Man, though they neither owe him any Thing, nor are in any ſort dependant on his Bounty, yet merely becauſe he is rich, give him little leſs than divine Honours; even though they know him to be ſo covetous and baſe minded, that notwithſtanding all his Wealth, he will not part with one Farthing of it to them, as long as he lives.

Theſe and ſuch like Notions has that People imbib'd, partly from their Education, being bred in a Country, whoſe Cuſtoms and Laws are oppoſite to all ſuch fooliſh Maxims: And partly from their Learning and Studies: for though there are but few in any Town that are ſo wholly excuſed from Labour, as to give themſelves entirely up to their Studies, theſe being only ſuch Perſons as diſcover from their Childhood an extraordinary

traordinary Capacity and Diſpoſition for Letters; yet their Children, and a great Part of the Nation, both Men and Women, are taught to ſpend thoſe Hours in which they are not obliged to work, in Reading: And this they do through the whole Progreſs of Life. They have all their Learning in their own Tongue; which is both a copious and pleaſant Language, and in which a Man can fully expreſs his Mind: It runs over a great Tract of many Countries, but it is not equally pure in all Places: They had never ſo much as heard of the Names of any of thoſe Philoſophers that are ſo famous in theſe Parts of the World, before we went among them: And yet they had made the ſame Diſcoveries as the *Greeks*, both in Muſick, Logick, Arithmetick, and Geometry. But as they are almoſt in every Thing equal to the ancient Philoſophers, ſo they far exceed our modern Logicians; for they have never yet fallen upon the barbarous Niceties that our Youth are forced to learn in thoſe trifling logical Schools that are among us: They are ſo far from minding Chimeras, and fantaſtical Images made in the Mind, that none of them could comprehend what we meant, when we talked to them of a Man in the Abſtract, as common to all Men in particular, (ſo that though we ſpoke of him as a Thing that we could point at with our Fingers, yet none of them could perceive him) and yet diſtinct from every one, as if he were

were ſome monſtrous Coloſſus, or Giant. Yet for all this Ignorance of theſe empty Notions, they knew Aſtronomy, and were perfectly acquainted with the Motions of the heavenly Bodies; and have many Inſtruments, well contrived and divided, by which they very accurately compute the Courſe and Poſitions of the Sun, Moon and Stars. But for the Cheat, of divining by the Stars, by their Oppoſitions or Conjunctions, it has not ſo much as entered into their Thoughts. They have a particular Sagacity, founded upon much Obſervation, in judging of the Weather, by which they know when they may look for Rain, Wind, or other Alterations in the Air: But as to the Philoſophy of theſe Things; the Cauſes of the Saltneſs of the Sea, of its ebbing and flowing, and of the Original and Nature both of the Heavens and the Earth; they diſpute of them, partly, as our ancient Philoſophers have done; and, partly upon ſome new Hypotheſis; in which, as they differ from them, ſo they do not in all Things agree among themſelves.

As to moral Philoſophy, they have the ſame Diſputes among them, as we have here: They examine what are properly good, both for the Body and the Mind: And whether any outward Thing can be called truly *good*, or if that Term belong only to the Endowments of the Soul. They enquire likewiſe into the Nature of Virtue and Pleaſure; but their chief Diſpute is, con-

cerning the Happineſs of a Man, and wherein it conſiſts? Whether in ſome one Thing, or in a great many? They ſeem indeed more inclinable to that Opinion that places, if not the whole, yet the chief Part of a Man's Happineſs in Pleaſure; and, what may ſeem more ſtrange, they make uſe of Arguments even from Religion, notwithſtanding its Severity and Roughneſs, for the Support of that Opinion, ſo indulgent to Pleaſure: For they never diſpute concerning Happineſs without fetching ſome Arguments from the Principles of Religion, as well as from natural Reaſon; ſince without the former, they reckon that all our Enquiries after Happineſs, muſt be but conjectural and defective.

Theſe are their religious Principles; that the Soul of Man is immortal, and that God of his Goodneſs has deſigned that it ſhould be happy; and that he has therefore appointed Rewards for good and virtuous Actions, and Puniſhments for Vice, to be diſtributed after this Life. Though theſe Principles of Religion are convey'd down among them by Tradition, they think, that even Reaſon itſelf determines a Man to believe and acknowledge them: And freely confeſs, that if theſe were taken away, no Man would be ſo inſenſible, as not to ſeek after Pleaſure by all poſſible Means, lawful or unlawful; uſing only this Caution, that a leſſer Pleaſure might not ſtand in the Way of a greater, and that no pleaſure ought

to

to be purſued, that ſhould draw a great deal of Pain after it: For they think it the maddeſt thing in the world to purſue Virtue, that is a ſour and difficult Thing; and not only to renounce the Pleaſures of Life, but willingly to undergo much Pain and Trouble, if a Man has no Proſpect of a Reward. And what Reward can there be, for one that has paſſed his whole Life, not only without Pleaſure, but in Pain, if there is nothing to be expected after Death? Yet they do not place Happineſs in all Sorts of Pleaſures, but only in thoſe that in themſelves are good and honeſt. There is a Party among them who place Happineſs in bare Virtue; others think that our Natures are conducted by Virtue to Happineſs, as that which is the chief good of Man. They define Virtue thus, that it is a living according to Nature; and think, that we are made by God for that End; They believe that a Man then follows the Dictates of Nature, when he purſues or avoids Things according to the Direction of Reaſon: They ſay, that the firſt Dictate of Reaſon is, the kindling in us a Love and Reverence for the Divine Majeſty, to whom we owe both all that we have, and all that we can ever hope for. In the next Place, Reaſon directs us, to keep our Minds as free from Paſſion, and as chearful as we can; and that we ſhould conſider ourſelves as bound by the Ties of good Nature and Humanity, to uſe our utmoſt Endeavours to help forward the Happineſs

of

of all other Perſons; for there never was any Man ſuch a moroſe and ſevere Purſuer of Virtue, ſuch an enemy to Pleaſure, that though he ſet hard Rules for Men to undergo, much Pain, many Watchings, and other Rigours, yet did not at the ſame Time adviſe them to do all they could, in order to relieve and eaſe the miſerable, and who did not repreſent Gentleneſs and good Nature as amiable Diſpoſitions. And from thence they infer, that if a Man ought to advance the Welfare and Comfort of the reſt of Mankind, there being no Virtue more proper and peculiar to our Nature, than to eaſe the Miſeries of others, to free from Trouble and Anxiety, in furniſhing them with the Comforts of Life, in which Pleaſure conſiſts; Nature much more vigorouſly leads them to do all this for himſelf. A Life of Pleaſure, is either a real Evil; and in that Caſe we ought not to aſſiſt others in their Purſuit of it, but on the contrary, to keep them from it all we can, as from that which is moſt hurtful and deadly; or if it is a good Thing, ſo that we not only may, but ought to help others to it, why then ought not a Man to begin with himſelf? Since no Man can be more bound to look after the Good of another, than after his own: For Nature cannot direct us to be good and kind to others, and yet at the ſame Time to be unmerciful and cruel to ourſelves. Thus as they define Virtue to be living according to Nature, ſo they imagine that

Nature

Nature prompts all People on to ſeek after Pleaſure, as the End of all they do. They alſo obſerve, that in order to our ſupporting the Pleaſures of Life, Nature inclines us to enter into Society; for there is no Man ſo much raiſed above the reſt of Mankind, as to be the only Favourite of Nature, who on the contrary, ſeems to have placed on a level all thoſe that belong to the ſame Species. Upon this they infer, that no Man ought to ſeek his own Conveniencies ſo eagerly, as to prejudice others; and therefore they think, that not only all Agreements between private Perſons ought to be obſerved; but likewiſe, that all thoſe Laws ought to be kept, which either a good Prince has publiſhed in due Form, or to which a People, that is neither oppreſſed with Tyranny, nor circumvented by Fraud, has conſented, for diſtributing thoſe Conveniencies of Life which afford us all our Pleaſures.

They think it is an Evidence of true Wiſdom, for a Man to purſue his own Advantages, as far as the Laws allow it. They account it *Piety*, to prefer the publick Good to one's private Concerns; but they think it unjuſt, for a Man to ſeek for Pleaſure, by ſnatching another Man's Pleaſures from him. And on the contrary, they think it a Sign of a gentle and good Soul, for a Man to diſpenſe with his own Advantage for the good of others; and that by this Means, a good Man finds as much Pleaſure one way, as he parts with

with, another; for as he may expect the like from others when he may come to need it, so if that ſhould fail him, yet the Senſe of a good Action, and the Reflections that he makes on the Love and Gratitude of thoſe whom he has ſo obliged, gives the Mind more Pleaſure, than the Body could have found in that from which it had reſtrained it ſelf: They are alſo perſuaded that God will make up the Loſs of thoſe ſmall Pleaſures, with a vaſt and endleſs Joy, of which Religion eaſily convinces a good Soul.

Thus upon an Enquiry into the whole Matter, they reckon that all our Actions, and even all our Virtues terminate in Pleaſure, as in our chief End and greateſt Happineſs; and they call every Motion or State, either of Body or Mind, in which Nature teaches us to delight, a Pleaſure. Thus they cautiouſly limit Pleaſure, only to thoſe Appetites to which Nature leads us; for they ſay that Nature leads us only to thoſe Delights to which Reaſon as well as Senſe carries us, and by which we neither injure any other Perſon, nor loſe the Poſſeſſion of greater Pleaſures, and of ſuch as draw no Troubles after them; but they look upon thoſe Delights which Men by a fooliſh, tho' common, Miſtake, call *Pleaſure*, as if they could change as eaſily the Nature of Things, as the uſe of Words; as Things that greatly obſtruct their real Happineſs, inſtead of advancing it, becauſe they ſo entirely poſſeſs the Minds of thoſe that are once

once captivated by them, with a falſe Notion of Pleaſure, that there is no room left for Pleaſures of a truer or purer Kind.

There are many Things that in themſelves have nothing that is truly delightful: On the contrary, they have a good deal of Bitterneſs in them: and yet from our perverſe Appetites after forbidden Objects, are not only ranked among the Pleaſures, but are made even the greateſt Deſigns of Life. Among thoſe who purſue theſe ſophiſticated Pleaſures, they reckon ſuch as I mentioned before, who think themſelves really the better for having fine Clothes; in which they think they are doubly miſtaken, both in the Opinion that they have of their Clothes, and in that they have of themſelves; for if you conſider the Uſe of Clothes, why ſhould a fine Thread be thought better than a coarſe one? And yet theſe Men, as if they had ſome real Advantages beyond others, and did not owe them wholly to their Miſtakes, look big, ſeem to fancy themſelves to be more valuable, and imagine that a Reſpect is due to them for the ſake of a rich Garment, to which they would not have pretended, if they had been more meanly clothed; and even reſent it as an Affront, if that Reſpect is not paid them. It is alſo a great Folly to be taken with outward Marks of Reſpect, which ſignify nothing: For what true or real Pleaſure can one Man find in another's ſtanding bare, or making Legs to him?

Will

Will the bending another Man's Knees give eaſe to yours? And will the Head's being bare cure the Madneſs of yours? And yet it is wonderful to ſee how this falſe Notion of Pleaſure bewitches many, who delight themſelves with the Fancy of their Nobility, and are pleaſed with this Conceit, that they are deſcended from Anceſtors, who have been held for ſome Succeſſions rich, and who have had great Poſſeſſions; for this is all that makes Nobility at preſent: yet they do not think themſelves a whit the leſs noble, though their immediate Parents have left none of this Wealth to them; or though they themſelves have ſquandered it away. The *Utopians* have no better Opinion of thoſe, who are much taken with Gems and precious Stones, and who account it a Degree of Happineſs, next to a divine one, if they can purchaſe one that is very extraordinary; eſpecially if it be of that Sort of Stones, that is then in greateſt Requeſt; for the ſame Sort is not at all Times univerſally of the ſame Value; nor will Men buy it, unleſs it be diſmounted and taken out of the Gold; the Jeweller is then made to give good Security, and required ſolemnly to ſwear that the Stone is true, that by ſuch an exact Caution, a falſe one might not be bought inſtead of a true: Though if you were to examine it, your Eye could find no difference between the counterfeit, and that which is true; ſo that they are all one to you as much as if you were blind.

Or

Or can it be thought that they who heap up an uſeleſs Maſs of Wealth, not for any uſe that it is to bring them, but meerly to pleaſe themſelves with the Contemplation of it, enjoy any true Pleaſure in it? The Delight they find, is only a falſe Shadow of Joy: Thoſe are no better, whoſe Error is ſomewhat different from the former, and who hide it, out of their fear of loſing it; for what other Name can fit the hiding it in the Earth, or rather the reſtoring it to it again, it being thus cut off from being uſeful, either to its Owner, or to the reſt of Mankind? And yet the Owner having hid it carefully, is glad, becauſe he thinks he is now ſure of it: If it ſhould be ſtole, the Owner, though he might live perhaps ten Years after the Theft, of which he knew nothing, would find no Difference between his having, or loſing it; for both ways it was equally uſeleſs to him.

Among thoſe fooliſh Purſuers of Pleaſure, they reckon all that delight in Hunting, in Fowling, or Gaming: Of whoſe Madneſs they have only heard, for they have no ſuch Things among them: But they have aſked us; what Sort of Pleaſure is it that Men can find in throwing the Dice? For if there were any Pleaſure in it, they think the doing it ſo often ſhould give one a Surfeit of it: And what Pleaſure can one find in hearing the barking and howling of Dogs, which ſeem rather odious than pleaſant Sounds? Nor can they comprehend

prehend the Pleaſure of ſeeing Dogs run after a Hare, more than of ſeeing one Dog run after another; for if the ſeeing them run is that which gives the Pleaſure, you have the ſame Entertainment to the Eye on both theſe Occaſions; ſince that is the ſame in both Caſes: But if the Pleaſure lies in ſeeing the Hare killed and torn by the Dogs, this ought rather to ſtir Pity, that a weak, harmleſs and fearful Hare, ſhould be devoured by ſtrong, fierce, and cruel Dogs. Therefore all this Buſineſs of Hunting, is, among the *Utopians*, turned over to their Butchers; and thoſe, as has been already ſaid, are all Slaves: And they look on Hunting, as one of the baſeſt Parts of a Butcher's Work: For they account it both more profitable, and more decent to kill thoſe Beaſts that are more neceſſary and uſeful to Mankind; whereas the killing and tearing of ſo ſmall and miſerable an Animal, can only attract the Huntſman with a falſe Shew of Pleaſure, from which he can reap but ſmall Advantage. They look on the Deſire of the Bloodſhed, even of Beaſts, as a Mark of a Mind that is already corrupted with Cruelty, or that at leaſt by the frequent Returns of ſo brutal a Pleaſure, muſt degenerate into it.

Thus, though the Rabble of Mankind look upon theſe, and on innumerable other Things of the ſame Nature, as Pleaſures; the *Utopians* on the contrary obſerving, that there is nothing in them truly pleaſant, conclude, that they are not to

be

be reckoned among Pleaſures: For though theſe Things may create ſome Tickling in the Senſes, (which ſeems to be a true Notion of Pleaſure) yet they imagine that this does not ariſe from the Thing it ſelf, but from a depraved Cuſtom, which may ſo vitiate a Man's Taſte, that bitter Things may paſs for ſweet; as Women with Child think Pitch or Tallow taſte ſweeter than Honey; but as a Man's Senſe when corrupted, either by a Diſeaſe, or ſome ill Habit, does not change the Nature of other Things, ſo neither can it change the Nature of Pleaſure.

They reckon up ſeveral Sorts of Pleaſures, which they call true Ones: Some belong to the Body, and others to the Mind. The Pleaſures of the Mind lie in Knowledge, and in that Delight which the Contemplation of Truth carries with it; to which they add the joyful Reflections on a well-ſpent Life, and the aſſured Hopes of a future Happineſs. They divide the Pleaſures of the Body into two Sorts; the one is that which gives our Senſes ſome real Delight, and is performed, either by recruiting Nature, and ſupplying thoſe Parts which feed the internal Heat of Life by eating and drinking: Or when Nature is eaſed of any Surcharge that oppreſſes it; when we are relieved from ſudden Pain, or that which ariſes from ſatisfying the Appetite which Nature has wiſely given to lead us to the Propagation of the Species. There is another kind of Pleaſure that ariſes

riſes neither from our receiving what the body requires, nor its being relieved when overcharged, and yet by a ſecret, unſeen Virtue affects the Senſes, raiſes the Paſſions, and ſtrikes the Mind with generous Impreſſions; this is the Pleaſure that ariſes from Muſick. Another kind of bodily Pleaſure is that, which reſults from an undiſturb'd and vigorous Conſtitution of Body, when Life and active Spirits ſeem to actuate every Part. This lively Health, when entirely free from all mixture of Pain, of it ſelf gives an inward Pleaſure, independant of all external Objects of Delight; and tho' this Pleaſure does not ſo powerfully affect us, nor act ſo ſtrongly on the Senſes as ſome of the others, yet it may be eſteemed as the greateſt of all Pleaſures, and almoſt all the *Utopians* reckon it the Foundation and Baſis of all the other Joys of Life; ſince this alone makes the State of Life eaſy and deſirable; and when this is wanting, a Man is really capable of no other Pleaſure. They look upon Freedom from Pain, if it does not riſe from perfect Health, to be a State of Stupidity, rather than of Pleaſure. This Subject has been very narrowly canvaſſed among them; and it has been debated whether a firm and entire Health could be called a Pleaſure, or not? Some have thought that there was no Pleaſure, but what was excited by ſome ſenſible Motion in the Body. But this Opinion has been long ago excluded from among them, ſo that now they almoſt

moſt univerſally agree, That Health is the greateſt of all bodily Pleaſures; and that as there is a Pain in Sickneſs, which is as oppoſite in its Nature to Pleaſure, as Sickneſs itſelf is to Health; ſo they hold, that Health is accompanied with Pleaſure: And if any ſhould ſay, that Sickneſs is not really Pain, but that it only carries Pain along with it, they look upon that as a Fetch of Subtilty, that does not much alter the Matter. It is all one in their Opinion, whether it be ſaid, that Health is in itſelf a Pleaſure, or that it begets a Pleaſure, as Fire gives Heat; ſo it be granted, that all thoſe whoſe Health is entire, have a true Pleaſure in the Enjoyment of it: And they reaſon thus, What is the Pleaſure of eating, but that a Man's Health which had been weakened, does, with the Aſſiſtance of Food, drive away Hunger, and ſo recruiting itſelf, recovers its former Vigour? And being thus refreſh'd, it finds a Pleaſure in that Conflict: And if the Conflict is Pleaſure, the Victory muſt yet breed a greater Pleaſure, except we fancy that it becomes ſtupid as ſoon as it has obtained that which it purſued, and ſo neither knows nor rejoyces in its own Welfare. If it is ſaid, that Health cannot be felt, they abſolutely deny it; for what Man is in Health, that does not perceive it when he is awake? Is there any Man that is ſo dull and ſtupid, as not to acknowledge that he feels a Delight in Health? And what is Delight, but another Name for Pleaſure?

But

But of all Pleasures, they esteem those to be most valuable that lie in the Mind; the chief of which arise out of true Virtue, and the Witness of a good Conscience. They account Health the chief Pleasure that belongs to the Body; for they think that the Pleasure of eating and drinking, and all the other Delights of Sense, are only so far desirable, as they give or maintain Health: But they are not pleasant in themselves, otherwise than as they resist those Impressions that our natural Infirmities are still making upon us: For as a wise Man desires rather to avoid Diseases, than to take Physick; and to be freed from Pain, rather than to find ease by Remedies: So it is more desirable, not to need this Sort of Pleasure, than to be obliged to indulge it. If any Man imagines that there is a real Happiness in these Enjoyments, he must then confess that he would be the happiest of all Men, if he were to lead his Life in perpetual Hunger, Thirst, and Itching, and by Consequence in perpetual Eating, Drinking, and Scratching himself; which any one may easily see would be not only a base but a miserable State of a Life. These are indeed the lowest of Pleasures, and the least pure: For we can never relish them, but when they are mixed with the contrary Pains. The Pain of Hunger must give us the Pleasure of eating; and here the Pain out-ballances the Pleasure: And as the Pain is more vehement, so it lasts much longer; for as it begins before the Pleasure,

Pleaſure, ſo it does not ceaſe, but with the Pleaſure that extinguiſhes it, and both expire together: They think, therefore, none of thoſe Pleaſures are to be valued, any further than as they are neceſſary; yet they rejoice in them, and with due Gratitude acknowledge the Tenderneſs of the great Author of Nature, who has planted in us Appetites, by which thoſe Things that are neceſſary for our Preſervation, are likewiſe made pleaſant to us. For how miſerable a Thing would Life be, if thoſe daily Diſeaſes of Hunger and Thirſt, were to be carried off by ſuch bitter Drugs, as we muſt uſe for thoſe Diſeaſes that return ſeldomer upon us? And thus theſe pleaſant, as well as proper Gifts of Nature, maintain the Strength and the Sprightlineſs of our Bodies.

They alſo entertain themſelves with the other Delights let in at their Eyes, their Ears, and their Noſtrils, as the pleaſant Reliſhes and Seaſonings of Life, which Nature ſeems to have marked out peculiarly for Man: Since no other Sort of Animals contemplates the Figure and Beauty of the Univerſe; nor is delighted with Smells, any farther than as they diſtinguiſh Meats by them; nor do they apprehend the Concords or Diſcords of Sound; yet in all Pleaſures whatſoever, they take Care that a leſſer Joy does not hinder a greater, and that Pleaſure may never breed Pain, which they think always follows diſhoneſt Pleaſures. But they think it Madneſs

for a Man to wear out the Beauty of his Face, or the Force of his Natural Strength; to corrupt the Sprightlineſs of his Body by Sloth and Lazineſs, or to waſte it by faſting; that it is Madneſs to weaken the Strength of his Conſtitution, and reject the other Delights of Life; unleſs by renouncing his own Satisfaction, he can either ſerve the Publick, or promote the Happineſs of others, for which he expects a greater Recompence from God. So that they look on ſuch a Courſe of Life, as the Mark of a Mind that is both cruel to it ſelf, and ungrateful to the Author of Nature, as if we would not be beholden to him for his Favours, and therefore rejects all his Bleſſings; as one who ſhould afflict himſelf for the empty Shadow of Virtue; or for no better end, than to render himſelf capable of hearing thoſe Misfortunes which poſſibly will never happen.

This is their Notion of Virtue and of Pleaſure; they think that no Man's Reaſon can carry him to a truer *Idea* of them, unleſs ſome Diſcovery from Heaven ſhould inſpire him with ſublimer Notions. I have not now the Leiſure to examine, whether they think right or wrong in this Matter: Nor do I judge it neceſſary, for I have only undertaken to give you an Account of their Conſtitution, but not to defend all their Principles. I am ſure, that whatſoever may be ſaid of their Notions, there is not in the whole World, either

either a better People or a happier Government: Their Bodies are vigorous and lively; and though they are but of a middle Stature, and have neither the fruitfulleſt Soil, nor the pureſt Air in the World; yet they fortify themſelves ſo well by their temperate Courſe of Life, againſt the unhealthineſs of their Air, and by their Induſtry they ſo cultivate their Soil, that there is no where to be ſeen a greater Increaſe, both of Corn and Cattle, nor are there any where healthier Men, and freer from Diſeaſes: For one may there ſee reduced to Practice, not only all the Art that the Huſbandman employs in manuring and improving an ill Soil, but whole Woods plucked up by the Roots, and in other Places new ones planted, where there were none before. Their principal Motive for this, is the Convenience of Carriage, that their Timber may be either near their Towns, or growing on the Banks of the Sea, or of ſome Rivers, ſo as to be floated to them; for it is a harder Work to carry Wood at any Diſtance over Land, than Corn. The People are induſtrious, apt to learn, as well as chearful and pleaſant; and none can endure more Labour, when it is neceſſary; but except in that Caſe they love their Eaſe. They are unwearied Purſuers of Knowledge; for when we had given them ſome Hints of the Learning and Diſcipline of the *Greeks*, concerning whom we only inſtructed them, (for we know that there was nothing among the *Romans*, except

their Hiſtorians and their Poets, that they would value much) it was ſtrange to ſee how eagerly they were ſet on learning that Language: We began to read a little of it to them, rather in Compliance with their Importunity, than out of any Hopes of their reaping from it any great Advantage: But after a very ſhort Trial, we found they made ſuch Progreſs, that we ſaw our Labour was like to be more ſucceſsful than we could have expected. They learned to write their Characters, and to pronounce their Language ſo exactly, had ſo quick an Apprehenſion, they remembered it ſo faithfully, and became ſo ready and correct in the Uſe of it, that it would have look'd like a Miracle, if the greater Part of thoſe whom we taught had not been Men, both of extraordinary Capacity, and of a fit Age for Inſtruction: They were for the greateſt Part choſen from among their learned Men, by their chief Council, though ſome ſtudied it of their own accord. In three Years Time they became Maſters of the whole Language, ſo that they read the beſt of the *Greek* Authors very exactly. I am indeed apt to think, that they learned that Language the more eaſily, from its having ſome Relation to their own: I believe that they were a Colony of the *Greeks*; for though their Language comes nearer the *Perſian*, yet they retain many Names, both for their Towns and Magiſtrates, that are of Greek Derivation. I happened to carry a great many Books with me,

inſtead

inſtead of Merchandiſe, when I ſailed my fourth Voyage; for I was ſo far from thinking of ſoon coming back, that I rather thought never to have returned at all, and I gave them all my Books, among which were many of *Plato*'s and ſome of *Ariſtotle*'s Works. I had alſo *Theophraſtus* on Plants, which to my great Regret, was imperfect; for having laid it careleſly by, while we were at Sea, a Monkey had ſeized upon it and in many Places torn out the Leaves. They have no Books of Grammar, but *Laſcares*, for I did not carry *Theodorus* with me; nor have they any Dictionaries but *Heſichius* and *Dioſcorides*. They eſteem *Plutarch* highly, and were much taken with *Lucian*'s Wit, and with his pleaſant Way of Writing. As for the Poets, they have *Ariſtophanes*, *Homer*, *Furipides*, and *Sophocles* of *Aldus*'s Edition; and for Hiſtorians, *Thucidides*, *Herodotus* and *Herodian*. One of my Companions, *Thricius Apinatus*, happened to carry with him ſome of *Hippocrates*'s Works, and *Galen*'s *Microtechne*, which they hold in great Eſtimation; for though there is no Nation in the World, that needs Phyſick ſo little as they do, yet there is not any that honours it ſo much: They reckon the Knowledge of it one of the pleaſanteſt and moſt profitable Parts of Philoſophy, by which, as they ſearch into the Secrets of Nature, ſo they not only find this Study highly agreeable, but think that ſuch Enquiries are very acceptable to the Au-

thor of Nature; and imagine, that as he, like the Inventors of Curious Engines amongſt mankind, has expoſed this great Machine of the Univerſe, to the View of the only Creatures capable of contemplating it, ſo an exact and curious obſerver, who admires his Workmanſhip, is much more acceptable to him than one of the Herd, who like a Beaſt incapable of Reaſon, looks on this glorious Scene with the Eyes of a dull and unconcerned Spectator.

The minds of the *Utopians* when fenced with a love for Learning, are very ingenious in diſcovering all ſuch Arts as are neceſſary to carry it to perfection. Two things they owe to us, the Manufacture of Paper, and the Art of Printing: Yet they are not ſo entirely indebted to us for theſe diſcoveries, but that a great part of the Invention was their own. We ſhewed them ſome Books printed by *Aldus*, we explained to them the way of making Paper, and the Myſtery of Printing; but as we had never practiſed theſe Arts, we deſcribed them in a crude and ſuperficial manner. They ſeized the Hints we gave them, and tho' at firſt they could not arrive at Perfection, yet by making many Eſſays, they at laſt found out, and corrected all their Errors, and conquered every Difficulty. Before this they only wrote on Parchment, on Reeds, or on the Barks of Trees; but now they have eſtabliſhed the Manufactures of Paper, and ſet up Printing-Preſſes, ſo that if they

they had but a good Number of Greek Authors, they would be quickly ſupplied with many Copies of them: At preſent, tho' they have no more than thoſe I have mentioned, yet, by ſeveral Impreſſions, they have multiplied them into many thouſands. If any Man was to go among them, that had ſome extraordinary Talent, or that by much travelling had obſerved the Cuſtoms of many Nations, (which made us to be ſo well received) he would receive a hearty welcome; for they are very deſirous to know the State of the whole World. Very few go among them on the Account of Traffick, for what can a Man carry to them but Iron, or Gold, or Silver, which Merchants deſire rather to export, than import to a ſtrange Country: And as for their Exportation, they think it better to manage that themſelves, than to leave it to Foreigners, for by this Means, as they underſtand the State of the neighbouring Countries better, ſo they keep up the Art of Navigation, which cannot be maintained but by much practice.

Of their Slaves, and of their Marriages.

THEY do not make Slaves of Priſoners of War, except thoſe that are taken in Battle; nor of the Sons of their Slaves, nor of thoſe of

other Nations: The Slaves among them, are only such as are condemned to that State of Life for the Commission of some Crime, or which is more common, such as their Merchants find condemned to die in those Parts to which they trade, whom they sometimes redeem at low Rates; and in other Places have them for nothing. They are kept at perpetual Labour, and are always chained, but with this difference, that their own Natives are treated much worse than others; they are considered as more profligate than the rest, and since they could not be restrained by the Advantages of so excellent an Education, are judged worthy of harder Usage. Another Sort of Slaves, are the Poor of the neighbouring Countries, who offer of their own accord to come and serve them; they treat these better, and use them in all other respects, as well as their own Country Men, except their imposing more Labour upon them, which is no hard Task to those that have been accustomed to it; and if any of these have a mind to go back to their own Country, which indeed falls out but seldom, as they do not force them to stay, so they do not send them away empty handed.

I have already told you with what Care they look after their Sick, so that nothing is left undone that can contribute either to their Ease or Health: And for those who are taken with fixed and incurable Diseases, they use all possible ways to

to cheriſh them, and to make their Lives as comfortable as poſſible: They viſit them often, and take great Pains to make their time paſs off eaſily: But when any is taken with a torturing and lingring Pain, ſo that there is no Hope, either of Recovery or Eaſe, the Prieſts and Magiſtrates come and exhort them, that ſince they are now unable to go on with the Buſineſs of Life, are become a Burden to themſelves, and to all about them, and they have really outlived themſelves, they ſhould no longer nouriſh ſuch a rooted Diſtemper, but chooſe rather to die, ſince they cannot live, but in much Miſery; being aſſured, that if they thus deliver themſelves from Torture, or are willing that others ſhould do it, they ſhall be happy after Death. Since by their acting thus, they loſe none of the Pleaſures, but only the Troubles of Life; they think they behave not only reaſonably, but in a Manner conſiſtent with Religion and Piety; becauſe they follow the Advice given them by their Prieſts, who are the Expounders of the Will of God. Such as are wrought on by theſe Perſuaſions, either ſtarve themſelves of their own accord, or take Opium, and by that means die without pain. But no Man is forced on this way of ending his Life; and if they cannot be perſuaded to it, this does not induce them to fail in their Attendance and Care of them: But as they believe that a voluntary Death, when it is choſen upon ſuch an

Authority, is very honourable; so if any Man takes away his own Life, without the Approbation of the Priests and the Senate, they give him none of the Honours of a decent Funeral, but throw his Body into a Ditch.

Their Women are not married before eighteen, nor their Men before two and twenty; and if any of them run into forbidden Embraces before Marriage, they are severely punished, and the privilege of Marriage is denied them, unless they can obtain a special Warrant from the Prince. Such Disorders cast a great Reproach upon the Master and Mistress of the Family in which they happen; for it is supposed, that they have failed in their Duty. The Reason of punishing this so severely, is, because they think that if they were not strictly restrained from all vagrant Appetites, very few would engage in a State in which they venture the Quiet of their whole Lives, by being confined to one Person, and are obliged to endure all the Inconveniencies with which it is accompanied. In choosing their Wives, they use a Method that would appear to us very absurd and ridiculous, but it is constantly observed among them, and is accounted perfectly consistent with Wisdom. Before Marriage, some grave Matron presents the Bride naked, whether she is a Virgin or a Widow, to the Bridegroom; and after that, some grave Man presents the Bridegroom naked to the Bride. We indeed both laughed at this, and condemned

condemned it as very indecent. But they, on the other hand, wondered at the Folly of the Men of all other Nations; who if they are but to buy a Horſe of a ſmall Value, are ſo cautious, that they will ſee every Part of him, and take off both his Saddle, and all his other Tackle, that there may be no ſecret Ulcer hid under any of them; and that yet in the Choice of a Wife, on which depends the Happineſs or Unhappineſs of the reſt of his Life, a Man ſhould venture upon Truſt, and only ſee about an handſbreadth of the Face, all the reſt of the Body being covered; under which there may lie hid what may be contageous, as well as loathſome. All Men are not ſo wiſe, as to chooſe a Woman only for her good Qualities; and even wiſe Men conſider the Body, as that which adds not a little to the Mind: And it is certain, there may be ſome ſuch Deformity covered with the Clothes, as may totally alienate a Man from his Wife, when it is too late to part with her: If ſuch a Thing is diſcovered after Marriage, a Man has no Remedy but Patience: They therefore think it is reaſonable, that there ſhould be good Proviſion made againſt ſuch miſchievous Frauds.

There was ſo much the more reaſon for them to make a Regulation in this Matter, becauſe they are the only People of thoſe Parts that neither allow of Polygamy, nor of Divorces, except in the Caſe of Adultery, or inſufferable Perverſneſs:

For in these Cases the Senate dissolves the Marriage, and grants the injured Person leave to marry again; but the Guilty are made infamous, and are never allowed the Privilege of a second Marriage. None are suffered to put away their Wives against their Wills, from any great Calamity that may have fallen on their Persons, for they look on it as the Height of Cruelty and Treachery to abandon either of the married Persons, when they need most the tender Care of their Consort; and that chiefly in the Case of old Age, which as it carries many Diseases along with it, so it is a Disease of itself. But it frequently falls out, that when a married Couple do not well agree, they by mutual Consent separate, and find out other Persons with whom they hope they may live more happily: Yet this is not done, without obtaining Leave of the Senate; which never admits of a Divorce, but upon a strict enquiry made, both by the Senators and their Wives, into the Grounds upon which it is desired; and even when they are satisfied concerning the Reasons of it, they go on but slowly, for they imagine that too great easiness, in granting leave for new Marriages, would very much shake the Kindness of married People. They punish severely those that defile the Marriage-Bed: If both Parties are married, they are divorced, and the injured Persons may marry one another, or whom they please; but the Adulterer, and the

Adultress

Adultreſs are condemned to Slavery. Yet if either of the injured Perſons cannot ſhake off the Love of the married Perſon, they may live with them ſtill in that State; but they muſt follow them to that Labour to which the Slaves are condemned; and ſometimes the Repentance of the condemned, together with the unſhaken Kindneſs of the Innocent and injured Perſon, has prevailed ſo far with the Prince, that he has taken off the Sentence: But thoſe that relapſe, after they are once pardoned, are puniſhed with Death.

Their Law does not determine the Puniſhment for other Crimes; but that is left to the Senate, to temper it according to the Circumſtances of the Fact. Huſbands have power to correct their Wives, and Parents to chaſtiſe their Children, unleſs the Fault is ſo great, that a publick Puniſhment is thought neceſſary for ſtriking Terror into others. For the moſt Part, Slavery is the Puniſhment even of the greateſt Crimes; for as that is no leſs terrible to the Criminals themſelves than Death; ſo they think the preſerving them in a State of Servitude, is more for the Intereſt of the Common-Wealth, than killing them; ſince as their Labour is a greater Benefit to the Publick, than their Death could be; ſo the Sight of their Miſery is a more laſting Terror to other Men, than that which would be given by their Death. If their Slaves rebel, and will not bear their Yoke, and ſubmit to the Labour that is enjoined them,

they

they are treated as wild Beasts that cannot be kept in order, neither by a Prison, nor by their Chains; and are at last put to Death. But those who bear their Punishment patiently, and are so much wrought on by that pressure, that lies so hard on them, that it appears they are really more troubled for the Crimes they have committed, than for the Miseries they suffer, are not out of Hope, but that at last either the Prince will, by his Prerogative, or the People, by their Intercession, restore them again to their Liberty, or at least very much mitigate their Slavery. He that tempts a married Woman to Adultery, is no less severely punished, than he that commits it; for they believe that a deliberate Design to commit a Crime, is equal to the Fact itself; since it's not taking Effect does not make the Person that miscarried in his Attempt at all the less guilty.

They take great Pleasure in Fools, and as it is thought a base and unbecoming thing to use them ill, so they do not think it amiss for People to divert themselves with their Folly: And, in their Opinion, this is a great Advantage to the Fools themselves: For if Men were so sullen and severe, as not at all to please themselves with their ridiculous Behaviour, and foolish Sayings, which is all that they can do to recommend themselves to others, it could not be expected that they would be so well provided for, nor so tenderly used as they must otherwise be. If any Man should reproach

proach another for his being miſhaped or imperfect in any Part of his Body, it would not at all be thought a Reflection on the Perſon ſo treated, but it would be accounted ſcandalous in him that had upbraided another with what he could not help. It is thought a ſign of a ſluggiſh and ſordid Mind, not to preſerve carefully one's natural Beauty; but it is likewiſe infamous among them to uſe Paint. They all ſee that no Beauty recommends a Wife ſo much to her Huſband, as the Probity of her Life, and her Obedience: For as ſome few are catched and held only by Beauty, ſo all are attracted by the other Excellencies which charm all the World.

As they fright Men from committing Crimes by Puniſhments, ſo they invite them to the Love of Virtue, by publick Honours: Therefore they erect Statues to the Memories of ſuch worthy Men as have deſerved well of their Country, and ſet theſe in their Market-places, both to perpetuate the Remembrance of their Actions, and to be an Incitement to their Poſterity to follow their Example.

If any Man aſpires to any Office, he is ſure never to compaſs it: They all live eaſily together, for none of the Magiſtrates are either inſolent or cruel to the people: They affect rather to be called *Fathers*, and by being really ſo, they well deſerve the Name; and the People pay them all the Marks of Honour the more freely, becauſe none

are

are exacted from them. The Prince himſelf has no Diſtinction, either of Garments, or of a Crown; but is only diſtinguiſhed by a Sheaf of Corn carried before him; as the High Prieſt is alſo known by his being preceded by a Perſon carrying a Wax Light.

They have but few Laws, and ſuch is their Conſtitution, that they need not many. They very much condemn other Nations, whoſe Laws, together with the Commentaries on them, ſwell up to ſo many Volumes; for they think it an unreaſonable Thing to oblige Men to obey a Body of Laws, that are both of ſuch a Bulk, and ſo dark as not to be read and underſtood by every one of the Subjects.

They have no Lawyers among them, for they conſider them as a Sort of People, whoſe Profeſſion it is to diſguiſe Matters, and to wreſt the Laws; and therefore they think it is much better that every Man ſhould plead his own Cauſe, and truſt it to the judge, as in other Places the Client truſts it to a Counſellor. By this means they both cut off many Delays, and find out Truth more certainly: For after the Parties have laid open the Merits of the Cauſe, without thoſe Artifices which Lawyers are apt to ſuggeſt, the Judge examines the whole Matter, and ſupports the Simplicity of ſuch well-meaning Perſons, whom otherwiſe crafty Men would be ſure to run down: And thus they avoid thoſe Evils, which appear very

very remarkably among all thoſe Nations that labour under a vaſt Load of Laws. Every one of them is ſkilled in their Law, for as it is a very ſhort Study, ſo the plaineſt Meaning of which Words are capable, is always the Senſe of their Laws. And they argue thus; all Laws are promulgated for this End, that every Man may know his Duty; and therefore the plaineſt and moſt obvious Senſe of the Words, is that which ought to be put upon them; ſince a more refined Expoſition cannot be eaſily comprehended, and would only ſerve to make the Laws become uſeleſs to the greater Part of Mankind, and eſpecially to thoſe who need moſt the Direction of them: for it is all one, not to make a Law at all, or to couch it in ſuch Terms, that without a quick Apprehenſion, and much ſtudy, a Man cannot find out the true Meaning of it; ſince the Generality of Mankind are both ſo dull, and ſo much employed in their ſeveral Trades, that they have neither the Leiſure nor the Capacity requiſite for ſuch an Enquiry.

Some of their Neighbours, who are Maſters of their own Liberties, having long ago, by the Aſſiſtance of the *Utopians*, ſhaken off the Yoke of Tyranny; and being much taken with thoſe Virtues which they obſerve among them, have come to deſire that they would ſend Magiſtrates to govern them; ſome changing them every Year, and others every five Years. At the End of their Government,

Government, they bring them back to *Utopia*, with great Expreſſions of Honour and Eſteem, and carry away others to govern in their Stead. In this they ſeem to have fallen upon a very good Expedient for their own Happineſs and Safety: For ſince the good or ill Condition of a Nation depends ſo much upon their Magiſtrates, they could not have made a better Choice, than by pitching on Men whom no Advantages can byaſs; for Wealth is of no uſe to them, ſince they muſt ſo ſoon go back to their own Country; and they being Strangers among them, are not engaged in any of their Heats or Animoſities: And it is certain, that when publick Judicatories are ſwayed, either by Avarice or partial Affections, there muſt follow a Diſſolution of Juſtice, the chief Sinew of Society.

The *Utopians* call thoſe Nations that come and aſk Magiſtrates from them, *Neighbours*; but thoſe to whom they have been of more particular Service, *Friends*. And as all other Nations are perpetually either making Leagues or breaking them, they never enter into an Alliance with any State. They think Leagues are uſeleſs Things, and believe, that if the common Ties of Humanity do not knit Men together, the Faith of Promiſes will have no great Effect: And they are the more confirmed in this, by what they ſee among the Nations round about them, who are no ſtrict Obſervers of Leagues and Treaties. We know how

how religiouſly they are obſerved in *Europe*; more particularly where the Chriſtian Doctrine is received, among whom they are ſacred and inviolable. Which is partly owing to the Juſtice and Goodneſs of the Princes themſelves, and partly to the Reverence they pay to the Popes: Who as they are moſt religious Obſervers of their own Promiſes, ſo they exhort all other Princes to perform theirs; and when fainter Methods do not prevail, they compel them to it by the Severity of the Paſtoral Cenſure; and think that it would be the moſt indecent Thing poſſible, if Men who are particularly diſtinguiſhed by the Title of *the Faithful*, ſhould not religiouſly keep the *Faith* of their Treaties. But in that new-found World, which is not more diſtant from us in Situation, than the People are in their Manners and Courſe of Life, there is no truſting to Leagues, even tho' they were made with all the Pomp of the moſt ſacred Ceremonies: On the contrary, they are on this Account the ſooner broken, ſome ſlight Pretence being found in the Words of the Treaties, which are purpoſely couched in ſuch ambiguous Terms, that they can never be ſo ſtrictly bound, but they will always find ſome Loop-hole to eſcape at; and thus they break both their Leagues and their Faith. And this is done with ſuch Impudence, that thoſe very Men who value themſelves on having ſuggeſted theſe Expedients to their Princes, would with a haughty Scorn, declaim

claim againſt ſuch Craft, or to ſpeak plainer, ſuch Fraud and Deceit, if they found private Men make uſe of it in their Bargains; and would readily ſay, that they deſerved to be hanged.

By this means it is, that all ſort of Juſtice, paſſes in the World, for a low-ſpirited and vulgar Virtue, far below the Dignity of Royal Greatneſs. Or at leaſt, there are ſet up two Sorts of Juſtice: The one is mean, and creeps on the Ground, and therefore becomes none but the lower Part of Mankind, and ſo muſt be kept in ſeverely by many Reſtraints, that it may not break out beyond the Bounds that are ſet to it. The other is the peculiar Virtue of Princes, which as it is more Majeſtick than that which becomes the Rabble, ſo takes a freer Compaſs; and thus lawful and unlawful, are only meaſured by Pleaſure and Intereſt. Theſe Practices of the Princes that lie about *Utopia*, who make ſo little Account of their Faith, ſeem to be the Reaſons that determine them to engage in no Confederacies: Perhaps they would change their Mind if they lived among us: But yet tho' Treaties were more religiouſly obſerved, they would ſtill diſlike the Cuſtom of making them; ſince the World has taken up a falſe Maxim upon it, as if there were no Tie of Nature uniting one Nation to another, only ſeparated perhaps by a Mountain, or a River, and that all were born in a State of Hoſtility, and ſo might lawfully do all that Miſ-

chief

chief to their Neighbours, againſt which there is no Proviſion made by Treaties: and that when Treaties are made, they do not cut off the Enmity, or reſtrain the Licenſe of preying upon each other, if by the Unſkilfulneſs of wording them, there are not effectual *Proviſo's* made againſt them. They, on the other hand, judge, that no Man is to be eſteemed our Enemy that has never injured us; and that the Partnerſhip of the human Nature, is inſtead of a League. And that Kindneſs and good Nature unite Men more effectually, and with greater Strength than any Agreements whatſoever; ſince thereby the Engagements of Men's Hearts become ſtronger, than the Bond and Obligation of Words.

Of their Military Diſcipline.

THEY deteſt War as a very brutal Thing; and which, to the Reproach of human Nature, is more practiſed by Men, than by any Sort of Beaſts: They, in Oppoſition to the Sentiments of almoſt all other Nations, think that there is nothing more inglorious than that Glory that is gained by War: And therefore tho' they accuſtom themſelves daily to Military Exerciſes, and the Diſcipline of War, in which not only their Men, but their Women likewiſe, are trained up, that in Caſes of Neceſſity, they may not be quite uſeleſs:

leſs: Yet they do not raſhly engage in War, unleſs it be either to defend themſelves, or their Friends, from any unjuſt Aggreſſors; or out of good Nature, or in Compaſſion aſſiſt an oppreſſed Nation, in ſhaking off the Yoke of Tyranny. They indeed help their Friends, not only in Defenſive, but alſo in Offenſive Wars: But they never do that, unleſs they had been conſulted before the Breach was made, and being ſatisfied with the Grounds on which they went, they had found that all Demands of Reparation were rejected, ſo that a War was unavoidable. This they think to be not only juſt, when one Neighbour makes an inrode on another, by publick Order, and carry away the Spoils; but when the Merchants of one Country are oppreſſed in another, either under Pretence of ſome unjuſt Laws, or by the perverſe wreſting of good ones: This they count a juſter Cauſe of War than the other, becauſe thoſe Injuries are done under ſome Colour of Laws. This was the only Ground of that War, in which they engaged with the *Nephelogetes* againſt the *Aleopolitanes*, a little before our Time: For the Merchants of the former, having, as they thought, met with great Injuſtice among the latter, which, whether it was in itſelf right or wrong, drew on a terrible War, in which many of their Neighbours were engaged; and their Keenneſs in carrying it on, being ſupported by their Strength in maintaining it; it not only ſhook ſome very

flouriſhing States, and very much afflicted others; but after a Series of much Miſchief, ended in the entire Conqueſt and Slavery of the *Aleopolitanes*, who though before the War, they were in all reſpects much ſuperior to the *Nephelogetes*, were yet ſubdued; but though the *Utopians* had aſſiſted them in the War, yet they pretended to no Share of the Spoil.

But though they ſo vigorouſly aſſiſt their Friends, in obtaining Reparation for the Injuries they have received in affairs of this Nature; yet if any ſuch frauds was committed againſt themſelves, provided no Violence was done to their Perſons, they would only on their being refuſed Satisfaction, forbear trading with ſuch a People. This is not becauſe they conſider their Neighbours more than their own Citizens; but ſince their Neighbours trade every one upon his own Stock, Fraud is a more ſenſible Injury to them, than it is to the *Utopians*, among whom the Publick in ſuch a Caſe only ſuffers: As they expect nothing in return for the Merchandizes they export, but that in which they ſo much abound, and is of little uſe to them, the Loſs does not much affect them; they think therefore it would be too ſevere to revenge a Loſs attended with ſo little Inconvenience either to their Lives, or their Subſiſtance, with the Death of many Perſons: but if any of their People is either killed or wounded wrongfully, whether it be done by publick Authority, or only by

by private Men, as ſoon as they hear of it, they ſend Ambaſſadors, and demand, that the Guilty Perſons may be delivered up to them; and if that is denied, they declare War; but if it be complied with, the Offenders are condemned either to Death or Slavery.

They would be both troubled and aſhamed of a *bloody Victory* over their Enemies; and think it would be as fooliſh a Purchaſe, as to buy the moſt valuable Goods at too high a Rate. And in no Victory do they glory ſo much, as in that which is gained by Dexterity and good Conduct, without Bloodſhed. In ſuch Caſes they appoint publick Triumphs, and erect Trophies to the Honour of thoſe who have ſucceeded; for then do they reckon that a Man acts ſuitably to his Nature, when he conquers his Enemy in ſuch a Way, as that no other Creature but a Man could be capable of, and that is, by the Strength of his Underſtanding. Bears, Lions, Boars, Wolves, and Dogs, and all other Animals imploy their bodily Force one againſt another, in which as many of them are ſuperior to Men, both in Strength and Fierceneſs, ſo they are all ſubdued by his Reaſon and Underſtanding.

The only Deſign of the *Utopians* in War, is to obtain that by Force, which if it had been granted them in Time, would have prevented the War; or if that cannot be done, to take ſo ſevere a Revenge on thoſe that have injured them,

that

that they may be terrified from doing the like for the Time to come. By these Ends they measure all their Designs, and manage them so, that it is visible that the Appetite of Fame or Vain-glory, does not work so much on them, as a just Care of their own Security.

As soon as they declare War, they take Care to have a great many Schedules, that are sealed with their common Seal, affixed in the most conspicuous Places of their Enemies Country. This is carried secretly, and done in many Places all at once. In these they promise great Rewards to such as shall kill the Prince, and lesser in Proportion to such as shall kill any other Persons, who are those on whom, next to the Prince himself, they cast the chief Balance of the War. And they double the Sum to him, that instead of killing the Person so marked out, shall take him alive, and put him in their Hands. They offer not only Indemnity, but Rewards, to such of the Persons themselves that are so marked, if they will act against their Countrymen: By this Means those that are named in their Schedules, become not only distrustful of their Fellow-Citizens, but are jealous of one another: And are much distracted by Fear and Danger; for it has often fallen out, that many of them, and even the Prince himself, have been betrayed by those in whom they have trusted most: For the Rewards that the *Utopians* offer, are so unmeasurably great, that there is

no Sort of Crime to which Men cannot be drawn by them. They conſider the Riſque that thoſe run, who undertake ſuch Services, and offer a Recompence proportioned to the Danger; not only a vaſt deal of Gold, but great Revenues in Lands, that lie among other Nations that are their Friends, where they may go and enjoy them very ſecurely; and they obſerve the Promiſes they make of this Kind moſt religiouſly. They very much approve of this Way of corrupting their Enemies, though it appears to others to be baſe and cruel; but they look on it as a wiſe Courſe, to make an End of what would be otherwiſe a long War, without ſo much as hazarding one Battle to decide it. They think it likewiſe an Act of Mercy and Love to Mankind, to prevent the great Slaughter of thoſe that muſt otherwiſe be killed in the Progreſs of the War, both on their ownSide, and on that of their Enemies, by the Death of a few that are moſt guilty; and that in ſo doing, they are kind even to their Enemies, and pity them no leſs than their own People, as knowing that the greater Part of them do not engage in the War of their own accord, but are driven into it by the Paſſions of their Prince.

If this Method does not ſucceed with them, then they ſow ſeeds of Contention among their Enemies, and animate the Prince's Brother, or ſome of the Nobility, to aſpire to the Crown. If they cannot diſunite them by domeſtick Broils,

then

then they engage their Neighbours againſt them, and make them ſet on Foot ſome old Pretenſions, which are never wanting to Princes, when they have Occaſion for them. Theſe they plentifully ſupply with Money, though but very ſparingly with any Auxiliary Troops: For they are ſo tender of their own People, that they would not willingly exchange one of them, even with the Prince of their Enemies Country.

But as they keep their Gold and Silver only for ſuch an Occaſion, ſo when that offers itſelf, they eaſily part with it, ſince it would be no Inconvenience to them, though they ſhould reſerve nothing of it to themſelves. For beſides the Wealth that they have among them at Home, they have a vaſt Treaſure abroad; many Nations round about them, being deep in their Debt: So that they hire Soldiers from all Places for carrying on their Wars; but chiefly from the *Zapoletes*, who live five hundred Miles Eaſt of *Utopia*. They are a rude, wild, and fierce Nation, who delight in the Woods and Rocks, among which they were born and bred up. They are hardened both againſt Heat, Cold, and Labour, and know nothing of the Delicacies of Life. They do not apply themſelves to Agriculture, nor do they care either for their Houſes or their Clothes. Cattle is all that they look after; and for the greateſt part, they live either by Hunting, or upon Rapine; and are made, as it were, only for War.

They watch all Opportunities of engaging in it, and very readily embrace such as are offered them. Great Numbers of them will frequently go out, and offer themselves for a very low Pay, to serve any that will employ them: They know none of the Arts of Life, but those that lead to the taking it away; they serve those that hire them, both with much Courage and great Fidelity; but will not engage to serve for any determin'd Time, and agree upon such Terms, that the next Day they may go over to the Enemies of those whom they serve, if they offer them a greater Encouragement: And will perhaps return to them the Day after that, upon a higher Advance of their Pay. There are few Wars in which they make not a considerable Part of the Armies of both Sides: So it often falls out, that they who are related, and were hired in the same Country, and so have lived long and familiarly together; forgetting both their Relations and former Friendship, kill one another upon no other Consideration, than that of being hired to it for a little Money, by Princes of different Interests: And such a Regard have they for Money, that they are easily wrought on by the Difference of one Penny a Day, to change Sides. So entirely does their Avarice influence them; and yet this Money which they value so highly, is of little Use to them; for what they purchase thus with their Blood, they quickly waste on Luxury, which

which among them is but of a poor and miſerable Form.

This Nation ſerves the *Utopians* againſt all People whatſoever, for they pay higher than any other. The *Utopians* hold this for a Maxim, that as they ſeek out the beſt Sort of Men for their own uſe at Home, ſo they make uſe of this worſt Sort of Men for the Conſumption of War, and therefore they hire them with the Offers of vaſt Rewards, to expoſe themſelves to all Sorts of Hazards, out of which the greater Part never returns to claim their Promiſes. Yet they make them good moſt religiouſly to ſuch as eſcape. This animates them to adventure again, whenever there is Occaſion for it; for the *Utopians* are not at all troubled how many of theſe happen to be killed; and reckon it a Service done to Mankind, if they could be a means to deliver the World from ſuch a lewd and vicious Sort of People, that ſeem to have run together, as to the Drain of human Nature. Next to theſe they are ſerved in their Wars, with thoſe upon whoſe Account they undertake them, and with the Auxiliary Troops of their other Friends, to whom they join a few of their own People, and ſend ſome Man of eminent and approved Virtue to command in chief. There are two ſent with him, who during his Command, are but private Men, but the firſt is to ſucceed him if he ſhould happen to be either killed or taken; and in Caſe

of the like Misfortune to him, the third comes in his Place; and thus they provide againſt ill Events, that ſuch Accidents as may befal their Generals, may not endanger their Armies. When they draw out Troops of their own People, they take ſuch out of every City as freely offer themſelves, for none are forced to go againſt their Wills, ſince they think that if any Man is preſſed that wants Courage, he will not only act faintly, but by his Cowardice diſhearten others. But if an Invaſion is made on their Country, they make uſe of ſuch Men, if they have good Bodies, though they are not brave; and either put them aboard their Ships, or place them on the Walls of their Towns, that being ſo poſted, they may find no Opportunity of flying away; and thus either Shame, the Heat of Action, or the Impoſſibility of flying, bears down their Cowardice; they often make a Virtue of Neceſſity, and behave themſelves well, becauſe nothing elſe is left them. But as they force no Man to go into any foreign War againſt his Will, ſo they do not hinder thoſe Women who are willing to go along with their Huſbands: On the contrary, they encourage and praiſe them; and they ſtand often next their Huſbands in the Front of the Army. They alſo place together thoſe who are related, Parents, and Children, Kindred, and thoſe that are mutually allied, near one another; that thoſe whom Nature has inſpired with the greateſt Zeal for

for assisting one another, may be the nearest and readiest to do it; and it is Matter of great Reproach, if Husband or Wife survive one another, or if a Child survives his Parent, and therefore when they come to be engaged in Action, they continue to fight to the last Man, if their Enemies stand before them: And as they use all prudent Methods to avoid the endangering their own Men, and if it is possible, let all the Action and Danger fall upon the Troops that they hire; so if it becomes necessary for themselves to engage, they then charge with as much Courage, as they avoided it before with Prudence: Nor is it a fierce Charge at first, but it encreases by Degrees; and as they continue in Action, they grow more obstinate, and press harder upon the Enemy, insomuch that they will much sooner die than give Ground; for the Certainty that their Children will be well looked after, when they are dead, frees them from all that Anxiety concerning them, which often masters Men of great Courage; and thus they are animated by a noble and invincible Resolution. Their Skill in Military Affairs encreases their Courage; and the wise Sentiments which according to the Laws of their Country, are instilled into them in their Education, give additional Vigour to their Minds: For as they do not under-value Life so as prodigally to throw it away, they are not so indecently fond of it, as to preserve it, by base and unbecoming

Methods. In the greateſt Heat of Action the braveſt of their Youth, who have devoted themſelves to that Service, ſingle out the General of their Enemies, ſet on him, either openly or by Ambuſcade; purſue him every where, and when ſpent and wearied out, are relieved by others, who never give over the Purſuit, either attacking him with cloſe Weapons when they can get near him, or with thoſe which wound at a Diſtance, when others get in between them: So that unleſs he ſecures himſelf by Flight, they ſeldom fail at laſt to kill or to take him Priſoner. When they have obtained a Victory, they kill as few as poſſible, and are much more bent on taking many Priſoners, than on killing thoſe that fly before them: Nor do they ever let their Men ſo looſe in the Purſuit of their Enemies, as not to retain an entire Body ſtill in Order; ſo that if they have been forced to engage the laſt of their Battalions, before they could gain the Day, they will rather let their Enemies all eſcape than purſue them, when their own Army is in Diſorder; remembering well what has often fallen out to themſelves; that when the main Body of their Army has been quite defeated and broken, when their Enemies imagining the Victory obtained, have let themſelves looſe into an irregular Purſuit, a few of them that lay for a Reſerve, waiting a fit Opportunity, have fallen on them in their Chace, and when ſtraggling in Diſorder, and apprehen-

apprehenſive of no Danger, but counting the Day their own; have turned the whole Action, and wreſting out of their Hands a Victory that ſeemed certain and undoubted, while the vanquiſhed have ſuddenly become victorious.

It is hard to tell whether they are more dextrous in laying or avoiding Ambuſhes: They ſometimes ſeem to fly when it is far from their Thoughts; and when they intend to give Ground, they do it ſo, that it is very hard to find out their Deſign. If they ſee they are ill poſted, or are like to be overpowered by Numbers, they then either march off in the Night with great Silence, or by ſome Stratagem delude their Enemies: If they retire in the Day-Time, they do it in ſuch Order, that it is no leſs dangerous to fall upon them in a Retreat, than in a March. They fortify their Camps with a deep and large Trench; and throw up the Earth that is dug out of it for a Wall; nor do they employ only their Slaves in this, but the whole Army works at it, except thoſe that are then upon the Guard; ſo that when ſo many Hands are at Work, a great Line and a ſtrong Fortification is finiſhed in ſo ſhort a Time, that it is ſcarce credible. Their Armour is very ſtrong for Defence, and yet is not ſo heavy as to make them uneaſy in their Marches; they can even ſwim with it. All that are trained up to War, practiſe ſwimming: Both Horſe and Foot make great uſe of Arrows, and

are very expert: They have no Swords, but fight with a Poll-ax that is both ſharp and heavy, by which they thruſt or ſtrike down an Enemy; they are very good at finding out warlike Machines, and diſguiſe them ſo well, that the Enemy does not perceive them, till he feels the Uſe of them; ſo that he cannot prepare ſuch a Defence as would render them uſeleſs; the chief Conſideration had in the making them, is, that they may be eaſily carried and managed.

If they agree to a Truce, they obſerve it ſo religiouſly, that no Provocations will make them break it. They never lay their Enemies Country waſte, nor burn their Corn, and even in their Marches they take all poſſible Care, that neither Horſe nor Foot may tread it down, for they do not know but that they may have Uſe for it themſelves. They hurt no Man whom they find diſarmed, unleſs he is a Spy. When a Town is ſurrendered to them, they take it into their Protection: And when they carry a Place by Storm, they never plunder it, but put thoſe only to the Sword that oppoſed the rendering of it up, and make the reſt of the Garriſon Slaves, but for the other Inhabitants, they do them no hurt; and if any of them had adviſed a Surrender, they give them good Rewards out of the Eſtates of thoſe that they condemn, and diſtribute the reſt among their Auxiliary Troops, but they themſelves take no Share of the Spoil.

When

When a War is ended, they do not oblige their Friends to reimburſe their Expences; but they obtain them of the conquered, either in Money, which they keep for the next Occaſion, or in Lands, out of which a conſtant Revenue is to be paid them; by many Increaſes, the Revenue which they draw out from ſeveral Countries on ſuch Occaſions, is now riſen to above 700,000 Ducats a Year. They ſend ſome of their own People to receive theſe Revenues, who have Orders to live magnificently, and like Princes, by which Means they conſume much of it upon the Place; and either bring over the reſt to *Utopia*, or lend it to that Nation in which it lies. This they moſt commonly do, unleſs ſome great Occaſion, which falls out but very ſeldom, ſhould oblige them to call for it all. It is out of theſe Lands that they aſſign Rewards to ſuch as they encourage to adventure on deſperate Attempts. If any Prince that engages in War with them, is making Preparations for invading their Country, they prevent him, and make his Country the Seat of the War; for they do not willingly ſuffer any War to break in upon their Iſland; and if that ſhould happen, they would only defend themſelves by their own People; but would not call for Auxiliary Troops to their Aſſiſtance.

Of the Religions of the Utopians.

THERE are ſeveral Sorts of Religions, not only in different Parts of the Iſland, but even in every Town; ſome worſhipping the Sun, others the Moon, or one of the Planets: Some worſhip ſuch Men as have been eminent in former Times for Virtue, or Glory, not only as ordinary Deities, but as the ſupream God: Yet the greater and wiſer Sort of them worſhip none of theſe, but adore one eternal, inviſible, infinite, and incomprehenſible Deity; as a Being that is far above all our Apprehenſions, that is ſpread over the whole Univerſe, not by his Bulk, but by his Power and Virtue; him they call the *Father of all*, and acknowledge that the Beginnings, the Increaſe, the Progreſs, the Viciſſitudes, and the End of all Things come only from him; nor do they offer divine Honours to any but to him alone. And indeed, though they differ concerning other Things, yet all agree in this; that they think there is one ſupream Being that made and governs the World, whom they call in the Language of their Country, *Mithras*. They differ in this, that one thinks the God whom he worſhips is this ſupream Being, and another thinks that his Idol is that God; but they all agree in one Principle, that whoever is this ſupream Being,

ing,

ing, he is alſo that great Eſſence, to whoſe Glory and Majeſty all Honours are aſcribed by the Conſent of all Nations.

By Degrees, they fall off from the various Superſtitions that are among them, and grow up to that one Religion that is the Beſt and moſt in Requeſt; and there is no Doubt to be made, but that all the others had vaniſhed long ago, if ſome of them who adviſed them to lay aſide their Superſtitions, had not met with ſome unhappy Accidents, which being conſidered as inflicted by Heaven, made them afraid that the God whoſe Worſhip had like to have been abandoned, had interpoſed, and revenged themſelves on thoſe who deſpiſed their Authority.

After they had heard from us, an Account of the Doctrine, the Courſe of Life, and the Miracles of Chriſt, and of the wonderful Conſtancy of ſo many Martyrs, whoſe Blood, ſo willingly offered up by them, was the chief Occaſion of ſpreading their Religion over a vaſt Number of Nations; it is not to be imagined how inclined they were to receive it. I ſhall not determine whether this proceeded from any ſecret Inſpiration of God, or whether it was becauſe it ſeemed ſo favourable to that Community of Goods, which is an Opinion ſo particular, as well as ſo dear to them; ſince they perceived that Chriſt and his

Followers

Followers lived by that Rule; and that it was ſtill kept up in ſome Communities among the ſincereſt Sort of Chriſtians. From which ſoever of theſe Motives it might be, true it is, that many of them came over to our Religion, and were initiated into it by Baptiſm. But as two of our Number were dead, ſo none of the four that ſurvived, were in Prieſts Orders; we therefore could only baptize them; ſo that to our great Regret, they could not partake of the other Sacraments, that can only be adminiſtered by Prieſts: But they are inſtructed concerning them, and long moſt vehemently for them. They have had great Diſputes among themſelves, whether one choſen by them to be a Prieſt, would not be thereby qualified to do all the Things that belong to that Character, even though he had no Authority derived from the Pope; and they ſeemed to be reſolved to chooſe ſome for that Imployment, but they had not done it when I left them.

Thoſe among them that have not received our Religion, do not fright any from it, and uſe none ill that goes over to it; ſo that all the while I was there, one Man was only puniſhed on this Occaſion. He being newly baptized, did, notwithſtanding all that we could ſay to the contrary, diſpute publickly concerning the Chriſtian Religion, with more Zeal than Diſcretion: and

with so much Heat, that he not only preferred our Worship to theirs, but condemned all their Rites as profane; and cried out against all that adhered to them, as impious and sacrilegious Persons, that were to be damned to everlasting Burnings. Upon his having frequently preached in this Manner, he was seized, and after Trial, he was condemned to Banishment, not for having disparaged their Religion, but for his inflaming the People to Sedition: For this is one of their most ancient Laws, that no Man ought to be punished for his Religion. At the first Constitution of their Government, *Utopus* having understood, that before his coming among them, the old Inhabitants had been engaged in *great Quarrels* concerning Religion, by which they were so divided among themselves, that he found it an easy Thing to conquer them, since instead of uniting their Forces against him, every different Party in Religion fought by themselves: After he had subdued them, he made a Law that every Man might be of what Religion he pleased, and might endeavour to draw others to it by the Force of Argument, and by amicable and modest Ways, but without Bitterness against those of other Opinions; but that he ought to use no other Force but that of Persuasion; and was neither to mix with it Reproaches nor Violence; and such as did otherwise were to be condemned to Banishment or Slavery.

This

This Law was made by *Utopus*, not only for preſerving the publick Peace, which he ſaw ſuffered much by daily Contentions and Irreconcilable Heats, but becauſe he thought the Intereſt of Religion it ſelf required it. He judged it not fit to determine any Thing raſhly; and ſeemed to doubt whether thoſe different Forms of Religion might not all come from God, who might inſpire Men in a different manner, and be pleaſed with this Variety; he therefore thought it indecent and fooliſh for any Man to threaten and terrify another to make him believe what did not appear to him to be true. And ſuppoſing that only one Religion was really true, and the reſt falſe, he imagined, that the native Force of Truth would at laſt break forth and ſhine bright, if ſupported only by the Strength of Argument, and attended to with a gentle and unprejudiced Mind; while, on the other hand, if ſuch Debates were carried on with Violence and Tumults, as the moſt wicked are always the moſt obſtinate, ſo the beſt and moſt Holy Religion, might be choaked with Superſtition, as Corn is with Briars and Thorns; he therefore left Men wholly to their Liberty, that they might be free to believe as they ſhould ſee Cauſe; only he made a ſolemn and ſevere Law againſt ſuch as ſhould ſo far degenerate from the Dignity of human Nature, as to think that our Souls died with our Bodies, or that the World was governed by Chance, without a wiſe overruling

ruling Providence: For they all formerly believed that there was a State of Rewards and Punishments to the Good and Bad after this Life; and they now look on those that think otherwise, as scarce fit to be counted Men, since they degrade so noble a Being as the Soul, and reckon it no better than a Beast's: Thus they are far from looking on such Men as fit for human Society, or to be Citizens of a well-ordered Commonwealth; since a Man of such Principles must needs, as oft as he dares do it, despise all their Laws and Customs: For there is no doubt to be made, that a Man who is afraid of nothing but the Law, and apprehends nothing after Death, will not scruple to break through all the Laws of his Country, either by Fraud or Force, when by this means he may satisfy his Appetites. They never raise any that hold these Maxims, either to Honours or Offices, nor employ them in any publick Trust, but despise them, as Men of base and sordid Minds: Yet they do not punish them, because they lay this down as a Maxim, that a Man cannot make himself believe any thing he pleases; nor do they drive any to dissemble their Thoughts by Threatnings, so that Men are not tempted to lie or disguise their Opinions; which being a Sort of Fraud, is abhorred by the *Utopians:* They take Care indeed to prevent their disputing in Defence of these Opinions, especially before

before the common People: But they ſuffer, and even encourage them to diſpute concerning them in private with their Prieſts, and other grave Men, being confident that they will be cured of thoſe mad Opinions, by having reaſon laid before them. There are many among them that run far to the other Extream, tho' it is neither thought an ill nor unreaſonable Opinion, and therefore is not at all diſcouraged. They think that the Souls of Beaſts are immortal, tho' far inferior to the Dignity of the human Soul, and not capable of ſo great a Happineſs. They are almoſt all of them very firmly perſuaded, that good Men will be infinitely happy in another State; ſo that tho' they are compaſſionate to all that are Sick, yet they lament no Man's Death, except they ſee him loath to part with Life; for they look on this as a very ill Preſage, as if the Soul, conſcious to it ſelf of Guilt, and quite hopeleſs, was afraid to leave the Body, from ſome ſecret Hints of approaching Miſery. They think that ſuch a Man's Appearance before God, cannot be acceptable to him, who being called on, does not go out chearfully, but is backward and unwilling, and is, as it were, dragged to it. They are ſtruck with Horror, when they ſee any die in this Manner, and carry them out in Silence, and with Sorrow, and praying God that he would be merciful to the Errors of the departed Soul,

Soul, they lay the Body in the Ground: But when any die chearfully, and full of Hope, they do not mourn for them, but ſing Hymns when they carry out their Bodies, and commending their Souls very earneſtly to God: Their whole Behaviour is then rather grave than ſad, they burn the Body, and ſet up a Pillar where the Pile was made, with an Inſcription to the Honour of the Deceaſed. When they come from the Funeral, they diſcourſe of his good Life, and worthy Actions, but ſpeak of nothing oftner and with more Pleaſure, than of his Serenity at the Hour of Death. They think ſuch Reſpect paid to the Memory of good Men, is both the greateſt Incitement to engage others to follow their Example, and the moſt acceptable Worſhip that can be offered them; for they believe that tho' by the Imperfection of human Sight, they are inviſible to us, yet they are preſent among us, and hear thoſe Diſcourſes that paſs concerning themſelves. They believe it inconſiſtent with the Happineſs of departed Souls, not to be at Liberty to be where they will: And do not imagine them capable of the Ingratitude of not deſiring to ſee thoſe Friends, with whom they lived on Earth in the ſtricteſt Bonds of Love and Kindneſs: Beſides they are perſwaded that good Men after Death have theſe Affections, and all other good Diſpoſitions encreaſed rather than diminiſhed, and

therefore

therefore conclude that they are ſtill among the Living, and obſerve, all they ſay or do. From hence they engage in all their Affairs, with the greater Confidence of Succeſs, as truſting to their Protection; while this Opinion of the Preſence of their Anceſtors is a Reſtraint that prevents their engaging in ill Deſigns.

They deſpiſe and laugh at Auguries, and the other vain and ſuperſtitious Ways of Divination, ſo much obſerved among other Nations; but have great Reverence for ſuch Miracles as cannot flow from any of the Powers of Nature, and look on them as Effects and Indications of the Preſence of the Supream Being, of which they ſay many Inſtances have occurred among them; and that ſometimes their publick Prayers, which upon great and dangerous Occaſions they have ſolemnly put up to God, with aſſured Confidence of being heard, have been anſwered in a miraculous Manner.

They think the contemplating God in his Works, and the adoring him for them, is a very acceptable Piece of Worſhip to him.

There are many among them, that upon a Motive of Religion, neglect Learning, and apply themſelves to no Sort of Study; nor do they allow

allow themſelves any Leiſure-time, but are perpetually employed, believing that by the good Things that a Man does he ſecures to himſelf that Happineſs that comes after Death. Some of theſe viſit the Sick; others mend High-ways, cleanſe Ditches, repair Bridges, or dig Turf, Gravel, or Stones. Others fell and cleave Timber, and bring Wood, Corn and other Neceſſaries, on Carts into their Towns. Nor do theſe only ſerve the Publick, but they ſerve even private Men, more than the Slaves themſelves do: For if there is any where a rough, hard, and ſordid Piece of Work to be done, from which many are frightened by the Labour and Loathſomneſs of it, if not the Deſpair of accompliſhing it, they chearfully, and of their own Accord, take that to their Share; and by that Means, as they eaſe others very much, ſo they afflict themſelves, and ſpend their whole Life in hard Labour: And yet they do not value themſelves upon this, nor leſſen other People's Credit, to raiſe their own; but by their ſtooping to ſuch ſervile Employments, they are ſo far from being deſpiſed, that they are ſo much the more eſteemed by the whole Nation.

Of theſe there are two Sorts: Some live unmarried and chaſte, and abſtain from eating any Sort of Fleſh; and thus weaning themſelves from all the Pleaſures of the preſent Life, which they

they account hurtful, they purſue, even by the hardeſt and painfulleſt Methods poſſible, that Bleſſedneſs which they hope for hereafter; and the nearer they approach to it, they are the more chearful and earneſt in their Endeavours after it. Another Sort of them is leſs willing to put themſelves to much Toil, and therefore prefer a married State to a ſingle one; and as they do not deny themſelves the Pleaſure of it, ſo they think the begetting of Children is a Debt which they owe to human Nature, and to their Country: Nor do they avoid any Pleaſure that does not hinder Labour; and therefore eat Fleſh ſo much the more willingly, as they find that by this Means they are the more able to Work: The *Utopians* look upon theſe as the wiſer Sect, but they eſteem the others as the moſt Holy. They would indeed laugh at any Man, who from the Principles of Reaſon, would prefer an unmarried State to a Married, or a Life of Labour to an eaſy Life: But they reverence and admire ſuch as do it from the Motives of Religion. There is nothing in which they are more cautious, than in giving their Opinion poſitively concerning any Sort of Religion. The Men that lead thoſe ſevere Lives, are called in the Language of their Country *Brutheſkas*, which anſwers to thoſe we call *Religious Orders*.

Their

Their Prieſts are Men of eminent Piety, and therefore they are but few, for there are only thirteen in every Town, one for every Temple; but when they go to War, ſeven of theſe go out with their Forces, and ſeven others are choſen to ſupply their Room in their Abſence; but theſe enter again upon their Employment when they return; and thoſe who ſerved in their Abſence, attend upon the High-Prieſt, till Vacancies fall by Death; for there is one ſet over all the reſt. They are choſen by the People as the other Magiſtrates are, by Suffrages given in ſecret, for preventing of Factions: and when they are choſen, they are conſecrated by the College of Prieſts. The Care of all ſacred Things, the Worſhip of God, and an Inſpection into the Manners of the People, are committed to them. It is a Reproach to a Man to be ſent for by any of them, or for them to ſpeak to him in Secret, for that always gives ſome Suſpicion: All that is incumbent on them, is only to exhort and admoniſh the People; for the Power of correcting and puniſhing ill Men, belongs wholly to the Prince, and to the other Magiſtrates: The ſevereſt thing that the Prieſt does, is the excluding thoſe that are deſperately wicked from joining in their Worſhip: There's not any Sort of Puniſhment more dreaded by them than this, for as it loads them with Infamy, ſo it fills them with

ſecret

ſecret Horrors, ſuch is their Reverence to their Religion; nor will their Bodies be long exempted from their Share of Trouble; for if they do not very quickly ſatisfy the Prieſts of the Truth of their Repentance, they are ſeized on by the Senate, and puniſhed for their Impiety. The Education of Youth belongs to the Prieſts, yet they do not take ſo much Care of inſtructing them in Letters, as in forming their Minds and Manners aright; they uſe all poſſible Methods to infuſe very early into the tender and flexible Minds of Children, ſuch Opinions as are both good in themſelves, and will be uſeful to their Country: For when deep Impreſſions of theſe Things are made at that Age, they follow Men through the whole Courſe of their Lives, and conduce much to preſerve the Peace of the Government, which ſuffers by nothing more than by Vices that riſe out of ill Opinions. The Wives of their Prieſts are the moſt extraordinary Women of the whole Country; ſometimes the Women themſelves are made Prieſts, though that falls out but ſeldom, nor are any but antient Widows choſen into that Order.

None of the Magiſtrates have greater Honour paid them, than is paid the Prieſts; and if they ſhould happen to commit any Crime, they would not be queſtioned for it: Their Puniſhment is left

left to God, and to their own Conſciences: For they do not think it lawful to lay Hands on any Man, how wicked ſoever he is, that has been in a peculiar manner dedicated to God; nor do they find any great Inconvenience in this, both becauſe they have ſo few Prieſts, and becauſe theſe are choſen with much Caution, ſo that it muſt be a very unuſual Thing to find one who merely out of Regard to his Virtue, and for his being eſteemed a ſingularly good Man, was raiſed up to ſo great a Dignity, degenerate into Corruption and Vice: And if ſuch a Thing ſhould fall out, for Man is a changeable Creature; yet there being few Prieſts, and theſe having no Authority, but what riſes out of the Reſpect that is paid them, nothing of great Conſequence to the Publick, can proceed from the Indemnity that the Prieſts enjoy.

They have indeed very few of them, leſt greater Numbers ſharing in the ſame Honour, might make the Dignity of that Order which they eſteem ſo highly, to ſink in its Reputation: They alſo think it difficult to find out many of ſuch an exalted Pitch of Goodneſs, as to be equal to that Dignity which demands the Exerciſe of more than ordinary Virtues. Nor are the Prieſts in greater Veneration among them, than they are among their neighbouring Nations, as you

may imagine by that which I think gives Occasion for it.

When the *Utopians* engage in Battle, the Priests who accompany them to the War, apparelled in their sacred Vestments, kneel down during the Action, in a Place not far from the Field; and lifting up their Hands to Heaven, pray, first for Peace, and then for Victory to their own Side, and particularly that it may be gained without the Effusion of much Blood on either Side; and when the Victory turns to their Side, they run in among their own Men to restrain their Fury; and if any of their Enemies see them, or call to them, they are preserved by that Means: And such as can come so near them as to touch their Garments, have not only their Lives, but their Fortunes secured to them: It is upon this Account that all the Nations round about consider them so much, and treat them with such Reverence, that they have been often no less able to preserve their own People from the Fury of their Enemies, than to save their Enemies from their Rage: For it has sometimes fallen out, that when their Armies have been in Disorder, and forced to fly, so that their Enemies were running upon the Slaughter and Spoil, the Priests by interposing, have separated them from one another, and stop'd the effusion of more Blood; so that by their

their Mediation, a Peace has been concluded on very reasonable Terms; nor is there any Nation about them so fierce, cruel, or barbarous, as not to look upon their Persons as sacred and inviolable.

The first and the last Day of the Month, and of the Year, is a Festival: They measure their Months by the Course of the Moon; and their Years by the Course of the Sun: The first Days are called in their Language the *Cyaemernes*, and the last the *Trapemernes*; which answers in our Language to the Festival that begins, or ends the Season.

They have magnificent Temples, that are not only nobly built, but extremely spacious; which is the more necessary, as they have so few of them: They are a little dark within, which proceeds not from any Error in the Architecture, but is done with Design; for their Priests think that too much Light dissipates the Thoughts, and that a more moderate Degree of it, both recollects the Mind, and raises Devotion. Though there are many different Forms of Religion among them, yet all these, how various soever, agree in the main Point, which is the worshipping the divine Essence; and therefore there is nothing to be seen or heard in their Temples,

in which the ſeveral Perſuaſions among them may not agree; for every Sect performs thoſe Rites that are peculiar to it, in their private Houſes, nor is there any Thing in the publick Worſhip, that contradicts the particular ways of thoſe different Sects. There are no Images for God in their Temples, ſo that every one may repreſent him to his Thoughts, according to the Way of his Religion; nor do they call this one God by any other Name, but that of *Mithras*, which is the common Name by which they all expreſs the divine Eſſence, whatſoever otherwiſe they think it to be; nor are there any Prayers among them, but ſuch as every one of them may uſe without Prejudice to his own Opinion.

They meet in their Temples on the Evening of the Feſtival that concludes a Seaſon: And not having yet broke their Faſt, they thank God for their good Succeſs during that Year or Month, which is then at an end: And the next Day, being that which begins the new Seaſon, they meet early in their Temples, to pray for the happy Progreſs of all their Affairs during that Period, upon which they then enter. In the Feſtival which concludes the Period, before they go to the Temple, both Wives and Children fall on their Knees before their Huſbands or Parents, and confeſs every Thing in which they have either

either erred or failed in their Duty, and beg pardon for it: Thus all little Diſcontents in Families are removed, that they may offer up their Devotions with a pure and ſerene Mind; for they hold it a great Impiety to enter upon them with diſturbed Thoughts; or with a Conſciouſneſs of their bearing Hatred or Anger in their Hearts to any Perſon whatſoever; and think that they ſhould become liable to ſevere Puniſhments, if they preſumed to offer Sacrifices without cleanſing their Hearts, and reconciling all their Diffrences. In the Temples, the two Sexes are ſeparated, the Men go to the right Hand, and the Women to the left: And the Males and Females all place themſelves before the Head, and Maſter or Miſtreſs of that Family to which they belong; ſo that thoſe who have the Government of them at home, may ſee their Deportment in publick: And they intermingle them ſo, that the younger and the older may be ſet by one another; for if the younger Sort were all ſet together, they would perhaps trifle away that Time too much, in which they ought to beget in themſelves that religious Dread of the ſupreme Being, which is the greateſt, and almoſt the only Incitement to Virtue.

They offer up no living Creature in Sacrifice, nor do they think it ſuitable to the Divine Being,

from whose Bounty it is that these Creatures have derived their Lives, to take Pleasure in their Deaths, or the offering up their Blood. They burn Incense, and other sweet Odours, and have a great Number of Wax Lights during their Worship; not out of any Imagination that such Oblations can add any Thing to the Divine Nature, which even Prayers cannot do; but as it is a harmless and pure way of worshipping God; so they think those sweet Savours and Lights, together with some other Ceremonies, by a secret and unaccountable Virtue, elevate Men's Souls, and inflame them with greater Energy and Chearfulness during the divine Worship.

All the People appear in the Temples in white Garments; but the Priest's Vestments are particoloured; and both the Work and Colours are wonderful: They are made of no rich Materials, for they are neither embroidered, nor set with precious Stones, but are composed of the Plumes of several Birds, laid together with so much Art, and so neatly, that the true Value of them is far beyond the costliest Materials. They say, that in the ordering and placing those Plumes, some dark Mysteries are represented, which pass down among their Priests in a secret Tradition concerning them; and that they are as Hieroglyphicks, putting them in Mind of the Blessings that

that they have received from God, and of their Duties, both to him and to their Neighbours. As soon as the Prieſt appears in thoſe Ornaments, they all fall proſtrate on the Ground, with ſo much Reverence and ſo deep a Silence, that ſuch as look on, cannot but be ſtruck with it, as if it were the Effect of the Appearance of a Deity. After they have been for ſome Time in this Poſture, they all ſtand up, upon a Sign given by the Prieſt, and ſing Hymns to the Honour of God, ſome muſical Inſtruments playing all the while. Theſe are quite of another Form than thoſe uſed among us: but, as many of them are much ſweeter than ours, ſo others are made uſe of by us. Yet in one Thing they very much exceed us; all their Muſick, both vocal and inſtrumental, is adapted to imitate and expreſs the Paſſions; and is ſo happily ſuited to every Occaſion, that whether the Subject of the Hymn be chearful, or formed to ſooth or trouble the Mind, or to expreſs Grief or Remorſe; the Muſick takes the Impreſſion of whatever is repreſented, affects and kindles the Paſſions, and works the ſentiments deep into the Hearts of the Hearers. When this is done, both Prieſts and People offer up very ſolemn Prayers to God in a ſet Form of Words; and theſe are ſo compoſed, that whatſoever is pronounced by the whole Aſſembly, may be likewiſe applied by every Man in particular to

to his own Condition; in theſe they acknowledge God to be the Author and Governor of the World, and the Fountain of all the Good they receive; and therefore offer up to him their Thankſgiving; and in particular, bleſs him for his Goodneſs in ordering it ſo, that they are born under the happieſt Government in the World, and are of a Religion which they hope is the trueſt of all others: But if they are miſtaken, and if there is either a better Government, or a Religion more acceptable to God, they implore his Goodneſs to let them know it, vowing that they reſolve to follow him whitherſoever he leads them: But if their Government is the beſt, and their Religion the trueſt, then they pray that he may fortify them in it, and bring all the World, both to the ſame Rules of Life, and to the ſame Opinions concerning himſelf; unleſs, according to the Unſearchableneſs of his Mind, he is pleaſed with a Variety of Religions. Then they pray that God may give them an eaſy Paſſage at laſt to himſelf; not preſuming to ſet Limits to him, how early or late it ſhould be; but if it may be wiſhed for, without derogating from his Supreme Authority, they deſire to be quickly delivered, and to be taken to himſelf, though by the moſt terrible Kind of Death, rather than to be detained long from ſeeing him, by the moſt proſperous Courſe of Life. When this Prayer is ended, they

they all fall down again upon the Ground, and after a little while they rise up; go home to Dinner, and spend the rest of the Day in Diversion or military Exercises.

Thus have I described to you, as particularly as I could, the Constitution of that Common-wealth, which I do not only think the best in the World, but indeed the only *Common-wealth* that truly deserves that Name. In all other Places, it is visible, that while People talk of a *Common-wealth*, every Man only seeks his own *Wealth*; but there, where no Man has any Property, all Men zealously pursue the good of the Publick: And indeed, it is no Wonder to see Men act so differently; for in other Common-wealths, every Man knows, that unless he provides for himself, how flourishing soever the Common-wealth may be, he must die of Hunger; so that he sees the Necessity of preferring his own Concerns to the Publick; but in *Utopia*, where every Man has a Right to every Thing, they all know, that if Care is taken to keep the Publick Stores full, no private Man can want any Thing; for among them there is no unequal Distribution, so that no Man is poor, none in Necessity; and though no Man has any Thing, yet they are all rich; for what can make a Man so rich, as to lead a serene and chearful Life, free from Anxieties; neither

apprehending Want himſelf, nor vexed with the endleſs Complaints of his Wife? He is not afraid of the Miſery of his Children, nor is he contriving how to raiſe a Portion for his Daughters, but is ſecure in this, that both he and his Wife, his Children and Grand-Children, to as many Generations as he can fancy, will all live, both plentifully and happily; ſince among them there is no leſs Care taken of thoſe who were once engaged in Labour, but grow afterwards unable to follow it, than there is elſewhere of theſe that continue ſtill employed. I would gladly hear any Man compare the Juſtice that is among them, with that of all other Nations; among whom, may I periſh, if I ſee any Thing that looks either like Juſtice, or Equity: For what Juſtice is there in this, that a Nobleman, a Goldſmith, a Banker, or any other Man, that either does nothing at all, or at beſt is employed in Things that are of no Uſe to the Publick, ſhould live in great Luxury, and Splendor, upon what is ſo ill acquired; and a mean Man, a Carter, a Smith, or a Ploughman, that works harder, even than the Beaſts themſelves, and is employed in Labours ſo neceſſary, that no Common-wealth could hold out a Year without them, can only earn ſo poor a Livelihood, and muſt lead ſo miſerable a Life, that the Condition of the Beaſts is much better than their's? For as the Beaſts do not work ſo conſtantly,

conſtantly, ſo they feed almoſt as well, and with more pleaſure; and have no Anxiety about what is to come, whilſt theſe Men are depreſſed by a barren and fruitleſs Employment, and tormented with the Apprehenſions of Want in their old Age; ſince that which they get by their daily Labour, does but maintain them at preſent, and is conſumed as faſt as it comes in, there is no Overplus left, to lay up for old Age.

Is not that Government both unjuſt and ungrateful, that is ſo prodigal of its Favours, to thoſe that are called Gentlemen, or Goldſmiths, or ſuch others who are idle, or live either by Flattery, or by contriving the Arts of vain Pleaſure; and on the other Hand, takes no Care of thoſe of a meaner Sort, ſuch as Ploughmen, Colliers, and Smiths, without whom it could not ſubſiſt? But after the Publick has reaped all the advantage of their Service, and they come to be oppreſſed with Age, Sickneſs, and Want, all their Labours, and the good they have done is forgotten; and all the Recompence given them, is, that they are left to die in great Miſery: The richer Sort are often endeavouring to bring the Hire of Labourers lower, not only by their fraudulent Practices, but by the Laws which they procure to be made to that Effect: So that though it is a Thing moſt unjuſt in it ſelf, to

give

give ſuch ſmall Rewards to thoſe who deſerve ſo well of the Publick, yet they have given thoſe Hardſhips the Name and Colour of Juſtice, by procuring Laws to be made for regulating them.

Therefore I muſt ſay, that as I hope for Mercy, I can have no other Notion of all the other Governments that I ſee or know, than that they are a Conſpiracy of the rich, who on Pretence of managing the Publick, only purſue their private Ends, and deviſe all the Ways and Arts they can find out; firſt, that they may, without Danger, preſerve all that they have ſo ill acquired, and then, that they may engage the poor to toil and labour for them, at as low Rates as poſſible, and oppreſs them as much as they pleaſe: And if they can but prevail to get theſe Contrivances eſtabliſhed, by the ſhow of publick Authority, which is conſidered as the Repreſentative of the whole People, then they are accounted Laws: Yet theſe wicked Men after they have, by a moſt inſatiable Covetouſneſs, divided that among themſelves, with which all the reſt might have been well ſupplied, are far from that Happineſs, that is enjoyed among the *Utopians*: For the Uſe as well as the Deſire of Money being extinguiſhed, much Anxiety and great Occaſions of Miſchief is cut off with it: And who does not ſee that the Frauds,

Frauds, Thefts, Robberies, Quarrels, Tumults, Contentions, Seditions, Murders, Treacheries, and Witchcrafts, which are indeed rather puniſhed than reſtrained by the Severities of Law, would all fall off, if Money were not any more valued by the World? Mens Fears, Sollicitudes, Cares, Labours, and Watchings, would all periſh in the ſame Moment, with the Value of Money: Even Poverty it ſelf, for the Relief of which Money ſeems moſt neceſſary, would fall. But, in Order to the apprehending this aright, take one Inſtance.

Conſider any Year that has been ſo unfruitful that many Thouſands have died of Hunger; and yet if at the end of that Year a Survey was made of the Granaries of all the rich Men that have hoarded up the Corn, it would be found that there was enough among them, to have prevented all that Conſumption of Men that periſhed in Miſery: And that if it had been diſtributed among them, none would have felt the terrible Effects of that Scarcity: So eaſy a Thing would it be to ſupply all the Neceſſities of Life, if that bleſſed Thing called *Money*, which is pretended to be invented for procuring them was not really the only Thing that obſtructed their being procured!

I do

I do not doubt but rich Men are ſenſible of this, and that they well know how much a greater Happineſs it is to want nothing neceſſary, than to abound in many Superfluities; and to be reſcued out of ſo much Miſery, than to abound with ſo much Wealth: And I cannot think but the Senſe of every Man's Intereſt, added to the Authority of Chriſt's Commands, who as he was infinitely wiſe, knew what was beſt, and was not leſs good in diſcovering it to us, would have drawn all the World over to the Laws of the *Utopians*, if *Pride*, that Plague of human Nature, that Source of ſo much Miſery, did not hinder it; for this Vice does not meaſure Happineſs ſo much by its own Conveniencies, as by the Miſeries of others; and would not be ſatisfied with being thought a *Goddeſs*, if none were left that were miſerable, over whom ſhe might inſult. Pride thinks it's own Happineſs ſhines the brighter, by comparing it with the Misfortunes of other Perſons; that by diſplaying its own Wealth, they may feel their Poverty the more ſenſibly. This is that infernal Serpent that creeps into the Breaſts of Mortals, and poſſeſſes them too much to be eaſily drawn out: And therefore I am glad that the *Utopians* have fallen upon this Form of Government, in which I wiſh that all the World could be ſo wiſe as to imitate them: For they have indeed laid down ſuch a Scheme and Foundation

dation of Policy, that as Men live happily under it, ſo it is like to be of great Continuance: For they having rooted out of the Minds of their People, all the Seeds, both of Ambition and Faction, there is no Danger of any Commotions at Home; which alone has been the Ruin of many States, that ſeemed otherwiſe to be well ſecured; but as long as they live in Peace at Home, and are governed by ſuch good Laws, the Envy of all their neighbouring Princes, who have often tho' in vain attempted their Ruin, will never be able to put their State into any Commotion or Diſorder.

When *Raphael* had thus made an end of ſpeaking, though many Things occurred to me, both concerning the Manners and Laws of that People, that ſeemed very abſurd, as well in their Way of making War, as in their Notions of Religion, and divine Matters; together with ſeveral other Particulars, but chiefly what ſeemed the Foundation of all the reſt, their living in common, without the Uſe of Money, by which all Nobility, Magnificence, Splendour, and Majeſty, which, according to the common Opinion, are the true Ornaments of a Nation, would be quite taken away; yet ſince I perceived that *Raphael* was weary, and was not ſure whether he could eaſily bear Contradiction, remembering that

that he had taken Notice of ſome, who ſeemed to think they were bound in Honour to ſupport the Credit of their own Wiſdom, by finding out ſomething to cenſure in all other Men's Inventions, beſides their own; I only commended their Conſtitution, and the Account he had given of it in general; and ſo taking him by the Hand, carried him to Supper, and told him I would find out ſome other Time for examining this Subject more particularly, and for diſcourſing more copiouſly upon it; and indeed I ſhall be glad to embrace an Opportunity of doing it. In the mean while, though it muſt be confeſſed that he is both a very learned Man, and a Perſon who has obtained a great Knowledge of the World, I cannot perfectly agree to every Thing he has related; however, there are many things in the Commonwealth of *Utopia*, that I rather wiſh, than hope, to ſee followed in our Governments.

FINIS.

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